

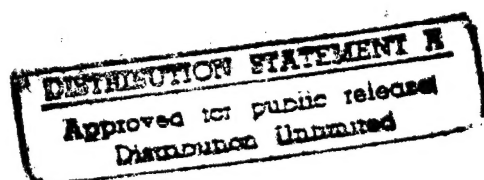
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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS FROM "KOMMUNIST"

No 8, 1961

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## FOREWORD

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## COMMUNISM AND ART

[Following is the translation of an unsigned editorial in Kommunist, No 8, Moscow, May 1961, pp. 3-10.]

In the last issue of the magazine Kommunist, we published an article by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev entitled, "Toward New Successes in Art and Literature;" this article attracted the greatest attention among public groups within the USSR and abroad.

The new and clear article which is rich in penetrating ideas brought to light the most important problems concerning the building of communism in our country, and it dealt with the particular and specific role of literature and art in this most vital matter. It inspires the entire people as well as that section of the populace to whom these words were immediately directed; they were words full of fierce and inspired striving and will for the creation of the most equitable system on the earth.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state which are concerned with the solution of the most important questions of communist construction, naturally devote constant concern and attention to artistic creation. This stems from that teaching concerning that specific role which art and literature are to play in Soviet society.

Many bourgeois statesmen and public figures are surprised that the problems of artistic creation in the Soviet Union are considered equally as important as the general Party and state tasks. But how can this be otherwise in a nation where art penetrates the entire national life, where the cinema, artistic prose and poetry, the theater, painting, sculpture, architecture, warm lyric songs and the epic cantata have become the spiritual property of the multitudinous builders of a new society?

About 45-50 years ago it would have been difficult to find in our land a home without icons and prayer-books which filled people with an indifference to actual life and which depicted life as "all is vanity." But now? It would not be easy to find a Soviet family without bookshelves full of favorite books which teach one how to live in the new style, fully and finely, how to devote one's entire strength of mind and body and always warm heart to the establishment of a society which is rational, just and consistently human.

Our inveterate enemies may protest as much as they please about the "inherent hostility" of the communist materialist ideology toward spiritual culture, and toward moral and aesthetic values. We know how to return such slander and how much it is worth. We also know that

neither the hostile protests nor falsifications can change the fact that the continual growth of scientific, artistic and other values and the transformation of them to a heritage of the masses is one of the distinguishing features of the socialist way of life.

Art is a keen, effective ideological weapon in the struggle for a communist society. Artistic works which depict the truth of life, the basic interests of the people, the great ideals of all time, in the most immediate fashion and with enormous transformative power influence the conscience and the emotional world of millions of people, they enrich their souls and harden their wills for victory.

Consistently the great works of literature and art have always been characterized by the fact that they express in the most perfect artistic form the most essential, vital and imminent problems of their era, guide the struggle for social progress, and raise the aesthetic development of humanity to a new and higher level. The defense of the by-gone world, or a search for a quiet life in the dead-end streets and by-ways of history have always cruelly revenged themselves on the artists, condemned their works to a rapid death, and have spoiled talents. Art for the select, for the upper-crust or the "elite" is the demand of the bourgeoisie. Art for the millions is the slogan of socialism.

Among the number of the best works in Soviet literature are those which deal with the heroic people's epoch, which is the struggle for Soviet power and for socialism; they are works which in the proper artistic forms and in themselves found the miraculous capacity for forming and educating the man of the new world. Soviet literature and art contributed their bit to the construction of a socialist society in the USSR.. Now before the Soviet artistic intelligentsia stand new more responsible and majestic tasks.

We are moving steadily toward communism. The Party and the government are now working out a 20-year program for the development of the economy and culture, which when fulfilled will make a gigantic step forward in the movement toward communism.

The highest phase of communism presupposes an abundance of material and spiritual riches and a distribution of them in accordance with the needs of the people who will labor to their fullest capacity. It is understood in this that in order to achieve this abundance, it is necessary first of all to carry out the complete electrification of the country, to create the material-technical basis of communism, and to equip oneself with powerful productive forces.

The achievement on time of the tasks for the first years of the current Seven-year Plan is proof that we are successfully advancing along the correct Leninist path; in doing so we amaze the world with the unprecedented monolithic unity of the Party and people. There is nothing voluntary or utopian in our plans. They are drawn up in light of the objective possibilities and known laws of social development. Along with this and as never before, the fulfillment of the plans depends upon the energy and initiative, on the conscientiousness and organizational power of millions of workers who are led and inspired by the Communist Party.

In pointing in his article to the decisive role of the creation of the material technical base of communism and the general development of the productive forces, N. S. Khrushchev insistently emphasizes the clear and simple thought: the development of production is for us not an end in itself but rather a means for making people happy, and for providing them with all of the necessary worldly needs. "If one is to speak about our tasks at the present time," remarked Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, "at this contemporary stage of history, then these tasks consist in the struggle for the happiness of people, for the betterment in every way possible of their material and spiritual lives, and for the flourishing of all of the capabilities and talents of man."

We do not need steel because we are consumed by "an industrial fever" or in order to prepare further means for aggression. These stupid salacious fabrications of bourgeois propaganda are broken to smithereens when they are confronted by the consistent peaceful policy of the Soviet state and with its firm drive for complete and full disarmament. We need more steel in order to create many intelligent machines, to lighten the labor of man, to make him more productive, in order to shorten the working day and to produce more material goods for the people. The deep and humanitarian nature of the communist order is very simple and clearly expressed in the words of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev: "In our understanding and in the understanding of all the people of the communist society, this is the best life for all of the people."

The powerful upsurge in the productive forces of the Soviet society which is marching toward communism, in the final analysis, is the condition for further changes in social relationships, that is, the development of communist relationships. Kolkhoz and cooperative ownership will be developed even further until it has fully run its course and then merges into public property. The development of socialist social relationships leads to the disappearance of classes, and in their place will come a single community of working people. The intelligentsia will cease to exist as a social stratum, as a social group which stems from the social division of labor into the mental and the physical. This division will disappear under full communism since the existing division between mental and physical labor will disappear. National differences will also be gradually eliminated on the basis of the flourishing of socialist nations and national cultures and on the basis of the further coming together of nations. However this process will be more protracted than the process of eliminating the distinctions between classes.

The construction of a communist society will be accompanied by the further development of socialist rule by the state into communist self-rule. This process however will be fully realized when communism is victorious throughout the world. While capitalism still exists, so will a strong and powerful socialist (communist) state exist which protects communist society from the thrusts of the external enemy. But

we Marxists and communists do not intend to eternalize the state. When the time comes that it will no longer be needed, it will die out and be replaced by communist self-rule.

The conversion of labor into the first need of life, the abundance of material and spiritual goods which communist labor will provide, will permit the distribution of these goods in accordance to the communist principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." This will signify the establishment of the full and inherent equality between citizens.

As N. S. Khrushchev has repeatedly made clear, communist society is the domain of actual equality and a happy life for all people and the general, harmonic development of the individual. Under communism people will use their free time more rationally. They all will be able to receive a higher education, to work in the occupation which they like, and to devote more attention to art, literature, etc. The material and spiritual needs of all the people will be satisfied in a society that is free from war, unemployment, hunger and the other misfortunes which beset the people under capitalism. This will be in the highest degree an organized, harmonic, healthy, strong, active and resourceful society. The creation of such a just and excellent society is the foremost goal of the communist party, the inspiration for life and struggle of each Soviet man. The article of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev which deals directly with the problems of literature and art, at the same time is a true hymn to communism, a simple but at the same time deep characterization of the most equitable social order.

The development of social relationships in the USSR and the transition to the highest phase of communism are the basis for the deep advances in the social conscience of the people, the basis for the complete elimination of the remains of an individualist psychology, the remains of private property and the establishment of communist collectivism and communist morality.

The great social transformation which is and will go on in the Soviet Union and in the fraternal socialist countries a hundred-fold will increase the attractive force of communist ideals for the workers in capitalist countries, and will provide for the victory of socialism over capitalism on a mass scale. "In all our successes," said N. S. Khrushchev, "and in the very fact of the existence and development of socialist society, we every day and more and more strongly strengthen in the conscience of the peoples of the world the faith in the creativity of communism on this earth, and we attract to our side new millions upon millions of followers of the communist ideas."

In disclosing the magnificent picture of the future toward which the Soviet people are moving directly under the leadership of its communist vanguard, N. S. Khrushchev in his article "Toward New Successes in Art and Literature," devotes his principal interest to the fact that the future society of complete freedom, equality and happiness is created by today's struggle and labor of millions of

Soviet people. The construction of communism is a multiple and complex historical process which develops in the struggle between the old and the new. The process of the development of a socialist society and its transition to the highest phase is subject to objective laws. This however in no way means that the transition of socialism to communism has a spontaneous character. No, the role of ideas, Marxist-Leninist theory and of all forms of socialist conscience is increasing even more.

The fact that communism, in distinction from socialism, arises on its own particular base, in no way means the lessening of the role of the subjective factor, or the directing and organizational activity of the masses lead by the communist party. The transition from socialism to communism and the shortening of the historical time involved in this transition presuppose the growing and creative activity of all workers, a high political and cultural-technical level of all members of the society and a clarity and deep understanding by them of the main tasks of the era and the means of accomplishing them. The highest phase of communism is a more complex and perfect social organism than its first phase, and therefore presents to its builders higher intellectual and moral demands. This is why the period of extensive building of communism cannot but be at the same time a period for the growth of the role of general ideological work which is directed to the end of raising the broadest masses of workers to the level of their communist vanguard, and to make the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its basic political, scientific, moral and aesthetic principles the deep internal conviction of every man. And here is the enormous role which Soviet literature and art are summoned to play.

The article of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev calls literature and art to new successes. And where are the means for such successes? Above all, there where boils the creative activity of the Soviet people and where beats the pulse of our boundlessly rich, clear and versatile life.

Among the bourgeois intellectuals, writers and artists the question might arise: why does the leader of the Party and state, in speaking before the scholars and the artistic intelligentsia, give so much space to the tasks of economic construction and to the prospects for our social development? Such a question would be characteristic namely of the bourgeois intellectual where he, as a rule, is far removed from life and enclosed in the magical circle of his individualism which he does not wish to cross. This is why his creative works are often an expression only of subjective ideas and sensations which are removed from reality and foreign to the people.

The artists of socialist realism hold a completely different view. The life of the people and its heroic deeds are the most important and valued and are those which constitute the focus of his creative attention. The grandiose prospects for the construction of communism in our country are the urgent program for which our artistic intelligentsia is fighting with its specific and irreplaceable weapon.

Nowadays our press is publishing many responses of Soviet writers and artists to the article of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev. Such responses have also come to the editorial offices of the magazine Kommunist. And they all speak about the great enthusiasm with which our intelligentsia is prepared to create for the good of the people. The laureat Lenin Prize poet, Aleksandr Prokof'yev writes: "To aid the Motherland's Party in all of its great inscriptions and progress is the enormous honor and the entire meaning of our life. To be always with the people, to know its thoughts and expectations, and to sing of its heroism which is directed at the creation of a new and communist society,--this is the very essence of our work.

"The enemy chatters on about the fact that the spiritual bonds which tie us to the Party might hinder the freedom of creation. It is not for them to judge or for them to know how we are inspired by the words of the Party, its lofty ideals and its titanic strengths which are directed at the transformation of the world. The Party in the words of the First Secretary of the Central Committee, N. S. Khrushchev, summons us to tireless work in the name of the people, and no one can hinder this high ideal, in whose name we live and work."

The people's artist of the USSR, V. A. Serov, writes: "The article of N. S. Khrushchev strengthens us in the irreconcilable struggle with the manifestations of the inimical bourgeois ideology, and in the subsequent struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideas in artistic creation. It summons us even more actively and more boldly to partake of life.

Happy is the fate of the Soviet artists; his creativity disseminates through the roots into the very life-giving soil of the people's life; it sings with great pathos of the creativity of the people, and it brings into life the great ideas of the Leninist Party. The artist must clearly see and understand the processes which are going on in the life of the people and to capture with feeling all that is new in life. This newness must be his vital concern."

In the march to communism--to the best and most just system on the earth--our Party has always devoted the greatest importance to art and literature. The founding genius of the Party and the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin, himself taught this.

Recent years are in themselves an example of the further development in the Leninist principles of Party leadership over art and literature. The work of N. S. Khrushchev "For a Close Tie Between the Life of the People and Art and Literature" (his speech at the Third Congress of Soviet Writers) and the recently published article "Toward New Successes in Art and Literature" are truly remarkable forms of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to one of the most specific fields of spiritual life. These works show what an important role the Party gives to art and literature in the construction of communism, how highly it values the talent of the artist, and what exceptional keenness it devotes to his work and to his creative labor. The Party does not commit any meddling guardianship or interference into

the creative laboratory of the artist. But along with this it does not stand aside in the development of art and literature, but directs it ideally.

It is not at all surprising that in possessing such a powerful and marvelous tool for the transformation of life, the Party particularly values it, protects it from ossification, and is concerned for its improvement and activity in the interests of the society and in the name of the good of the people. In this area the meeting of the artistic intelligentsia with the leaders of the Party and the government have been of enormous importance. They have helped the writers and artists to become even more vigilant and to more deeply understand reality. The frank and friendly conversation has disclosed the prospects of artistic creation, and helped in uniting all the force of art and literature on the principle base. The meeting of 17 July 1960 showed with special clarity that full unity in the understanding of goals and tasks which has long been established in the Communist Party with the people in art and literature. It was not fortuitous enthusiasm which greeted the words of N. S. Khrushchev on the close unity and the desire of everyone to move in closed ranks to the achievement of the great goal of building communism. The educative role of art and literature will grow even more in this inexorable movement, for the communist indoctrination of the workers and the formation of the new man has become one of the most essential tasks of the Party. Turning to the representatives of art and literature, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev said, "We need such books, films, spectacles, works of music, painting and sculpture which will instill in the people the spirit of communist ideals, which will arouse in them a feeling of admiration for all that is remarkable and beautiful in our socialist reality, and which will cause among people the birth of a readiness to devote their strengths, knowledge and abilities to the selfless service of the entire people and a desire to follow the example of the positive hero in the works of art; they will cause an irreconcilability to all that is anti-social and negative in life.

Literature is the trusted assistant of the Party in the indoctrination of the masses. In considering the specific character of literature's and art's indoctrinating influence which has a strong artistic and emotional effect upon the feelings and conscience of people, N. S. Khrushchev said, "It is just through the best works in literature and art that people learn correctly to understand and change life, and assume advanced ideas and form their own character and convictions just as naturally and unnoticeably as a child learns to speak."

How truly and surprisingly exactly said. In fact, for the Soviet man often even in his pre-school years and particularly from his school years on, art and literature should become a natural atmosphere and air which he breathes; they should be the most important element which he absorbs into himself. Really isn't it significant that the world's first cosmonaut, the communist, Yuriy Gagarin, from

his childhood strived to be like the hero of Povesti o nastoyashchem cheloveke [Tale of a Modern Man] by Aleksey Meres'yev, and that his intimate thoughts and feelings were expressed in the song of the Soviet poet, "the Motherland listens, the Motherland knows where her son is flying in the clouds"?

Indoctrination in the spirit of the ideals of communism is the most noble mission that has fallen the duty of art and literature in the entire history of mankind.

To indoctrinate in the spirit of communism means to aid our great Communist Party in the decision of the most important historical tasks, in the building of the most noble society on earth. Thus the creative work of the Party and its trusted aids, the workers in art and literature, flows into one stream. In this is found the manifestation of the "partiynost'" of creativity; just as the sun shines, the sea is blue and the birds sing, so is this an internal organic and natural quality of the Soviet artist.

The revisionists of every shape and form, in following the bourgeois propaganda, argue against the Party leadership of art and literature. In this they hysterically wail that such leadership impedes the freedom of creation and leads to its levelling, etc. But one knows that Soviet literature is directed by a Party which expresses the most advanced ideas and ideals of our era; a Party which expresses the interests of all progressive humanity. How then can this leadership contradict the creativity of the advanced artists of a nation which stands in the vanguard of world progress!

In accordance to the Leninist proposition, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev came out with a very important thought, that the development of art and literature in a socialist society does not come about spontaneously nor anarchically, but in a planned manner is directed by the Party and is viewed as one of the most important integral parts of national life.

The Party leadership for our artistic intelligentsia is not something super-imposed that hinders creative freedom, but rather coincides with its internal aspirations. Why is this? Because the advanced intelligentsia always has seen and sees now its goal in the service of the people and its interests. And under our conditions these interests of the people are embodied in the policy of the Communist Party which is disclosing the magnificent prospect of the construction of communism. And what could be more noble for the artist than to link all of his forces and all of his talent to the service of this great goal and through his creativity to enable the realization of the eternal dream of humanity for the most just social order? This is why our writers, composers, artists and movie and theater people protect the most just matter--the struggle for communism, not out of an order, but according to their own conviction and command of the heart. This in no way is a limiting phenomenon of creative freedom which in the Leninist understanding consists in marching together with the people and creating spiritual riches for the people and in the interests of the people.

And what space there is on this noble path for an authentic talent, for its creative enthusiasm and for the creation of fine works which will become the vital bread for millions and millions! This is the case for such works which have received real national recognition and glory; for example they are those which have won the Lenin Prize such as the poem of A. Tvardovskiy "In the Distance is Distance," the book of verses of A. Prokof'yev Invitation for Journey, the trilogy of M. Stel'makh, The Ice Book of Yu. Smul. Only under the conditions of real freedom could shine the galaxy of such talents as D. Shostakovich, V. Pashennaya, S. Rikhter, V. Solov'yev-Sedoy, G. Sviridov and others.

It is not accidental that the great artists, writers and theater and movie people from the capitalist countries speak with envy about the remarkable conditions created here for the artistic intelligentsia, and characterize with bitterness the humiliating and distressing status of an authentic talent in the so-called free world.

The successes of our literature and art speak for themselves. But under the new conditions when the country is carrying out the extensive construction of communism, the responsibility of the writers, artists, composers and theater and movie people for the ideal and artistic level of their creativity grows even more. You see, the works of art and literature can bring about an educational effect only when it is really artistic.

This is why N. S. Khrushchev once more has focused attention on the artistic skill, arguing against those books which can play only one "positive" role, that of helping one to fall asleep quicker.

Unfortunately such works still appear rather often. And as one knows it has been said long ago that in art all genres are good except the boring. We need such talented, clear books which people can accept; we need films which people will view with pleasure; we need music which will be listened to with delight. The people await from the artists and writers these joyful, cheerful, inspiring and exciting books, films and music.

Literary and artistic criticism is also summoned to help in the creation of new clear and talented works dealing with our socialist reality; these works will print in artistic forms the great concerns, heroism and virility and the high moral and spiritual aspect of the Soviet people who are the builders of communism.

Above all criticism should be principled, demanding of an ideal and artistic level in the work and also benevolent. Such a criticism will impart courage, augment creative energy and inspire the creation of new talented works. In criticism we must have no predetermined or subjective judgments on books, spectacles, movies or works of music, painting or sculpture. Unfortunately such judgments are still encountered not unfrequently.

In light of the remarks by N. S. Khrushchev, the shortcomings in our criticism become all the more perceptible. We have still not completely eliminated the lack of principle, the rule of cliques, the

judging of a work according to the "principle" of acquaintanceship with the author, the rule of taste, and a low level of professional skill. In artistic organizations one still finds sometimes the view that criticism is a second-rate business; individual artists and writers try to lower and muzzle criticism. All of this is unbearable in our life. The article of N. S. Khrushchev "Toward New Successes in Art and Literature" raises the social purpose of criticism, and its enormous role in the development of art and literature. And in the first instance, this will depend upon the critics themselves, on their adherence to principles, on their penetrating and piercing views into reality, on their understanding of their tasks and on their literary skill.

The Soviet artistic intelligentsia, inspired by the attention of the Party and the heroism of the Soviet people devotes its entire creativity to the great concern of communism.

Communism...We still can not depict it concretely or in detail. But its basic features are already evident. We know the main route to it, and we know that communism is an ocean of human happiness, justice, humanism, a full-blooded way of life, creative daring, and the creative and transforming power of man. This ocean is emerging, growing and expanding even now, before our very eyes. Into this ocean the powerful rivers of the people's creativeness bring their gifts. They in turn influence the submarine currents in the general treasure of material and spiritual valuables. And one of the most tempestuous and joyous currents is art and literature. Thus arises and is carried out a unity unique in history, art and communism.

## IN THE CONSTELLATION OF THE FRATERNAL REPUBLICS

Following is the translation of an article by D. Kunayev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, in Kommunist, No 8, Moscow, May 1961, pp. 26-32.]

In June the workers of Soviet Kazakhstan will celebrate the 40th Anniversary of their Republic and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The Kazakh people in these years have travelled a great distance, from backwardness to progress. They for the first time found their own rule in the results of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution; they became an equal member in the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR and formed a socialist nation.

V. I. Lenin not only worked out the scientific basis and the international program of the Party on the national question, but in practice as well directed its carrying out, and in doing so laid the basis for the multi-national Soviet socialist state constructed on the complete trust, willingness, agreement and unity of the peoples.

Over the shortest historical period of time, the Kazakh Republic carried out the most thorough social and economic changes which were to provide for the development of its productive forces, the growth of the economy and culture, and called forth the unseen creative activity of the workers. In Kazakhstan, where prior to the October Revolution a semi-natural economy of nomadic cattle-raising held sway which depended upon the spontaneous forces of nature; today we have created an up-to-date diversified industry and a large, advanced and highly mechanized agriculture.

The great increase in the economy of the Republic began in the years of the first Five-Year Plan, when the Soviet people commenced the industrialization of the country. In this period in Kazakhstan more than 40 heavy industrial enterprises were built. Even then the Republic began to produce twice the industrial production than in 1913. A great labor victory of the working class was the construction of the Turkestan-Siberian railroad which linked via a strong steel bridge Siberia and the Republics of Central Asia; it had a great effect on the economy of Kazakhstan.

The national economy went ahead in gigantic steps, but heavy industry developed particularly rapidly. Created anew were the non-ferrous metallurgy, and a coal and oil industry; entirely new fields sprang up: the chemical, machinery building and metal-working industries, and ferrous metallurgy. Large industrial centers appeared: Karaganda, Balkhash and Leninogorsk. In the barren wastes

scores of workers' settlements were built. The Republic was covered by a network of railroads, highways and numerous airways.

At the same time the number of the working class increased. Russian workers, engineers and technicians freely gave to the Kazakh workers their technical experience, knowledge and production skills. The Kazakh workers mastered complicated professions and increased their skills at enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalino, Baku, Khar'kov and other industrial centers. Upon the summons of the Party, a large group of qualified Donets skilled miners came to open up the mines of Karaganda. This successfully prepared the cadres of the production and technical intelligentsia.

The socialist industrialization of Kazakhstan was carried out with the constant and ever-increasing assistance of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government and by the free support of the great Russian people and of other peoples. The Communist Party sent its best cadres into the Republic. Socialist construction in Kazakhstan at various stages was directed by such leading figures of the Soviet state as M. V. Frunze, V. V. Kuybyshev, S. M. Kirov, M. I. Kalinin and others.

In the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War [World War II], Kazakhstan became one of the largest arsenals in the nation. During this time on its territory large new enterprises were built one after the other: the Aktyubinskiy plant for ferroalloys, the Kazakh metallurgical plant in Temir-Tau, and a number of machine-building enterprises. Thousands of brave sons and daughters of the people with weapons in hand defended the freedom and independence of the Motherland.

After the victory over the Fascist Germans plunderers, the Republic's workers gave significant and disinterested assistance to the regions which suffered from the occupation. The Karaganda miners grateful for the aid in constructing the mines during the years of the first Five-Year Plans, sent their Donbas brothers in the Ukraine a large amount of mining equipment and machines. In this act, the idea of friendship between peoples, mutual-assistance and cooperation in the name of national prosperity found its concrete expression.

In the post-war period, the national economy of the Republic has been enriched with new industrial enterprises which are equipped with advanced technology. A particularly rapid upsurge in the productive forces of Kazakhstan began after the historic 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU which emphasized the necessity of developing in every way possible the economies of the eastern regions of the nation. In only five years after the 20th Party Congress, the production of industrial goods in the Republic has grown by almost 72%, and the productivity of labor by nearly 30%. The range of capital investments in the national economy has increased gigantically. If in 1951 they would have been valued at 457.4 million rubles (at the new rate), then in 1960 this figure would have risen to 2,086 million rubles.

In the Karaganda coal basin, 20 mines have been built in this time. At the very rich Ekibastuzskiy deposit of hard coal, two large pits have been built. At Rudnoy Altai, they are now putting up the Ust'-Kamenogorskiy lead-zinc combine imeni V. I. Lenin. This remarkable enterprise is now the pride of non-ferrous metallurgy in the nation; its glorious collective of workers has been awarded the title of collective of communist labor. In the Turgaya steppe the Sokolovsko-Sarbayaskiy ore-dressing combine has sprung up, and which has already produced more than 9 million tons of high-grade iron ore. After its completion, the combine will become the unique enterprise for the ore-mining industry of the nation. Kazakhstan cast iron is being produced by the first blast-furnace in the Karaganda metallurgical plant. The construction materials industry is developing rapidly. Kazakhstan produces complicated equipment for non-ferrous metallurgy, and for the mining, coal and oil industries, forge press machinery, small-liter motors, agricultural machinery, spare parts for it, and much else.

In the Republic one can count thousands of industrial enterprises. These are modern factories and plants which are equipped with the most recent equipment. Mechanization and automation are more widely being introduced into all fields of the national economy. In the level of industrial production Kazakhstan has caught up with many foreign countries. In a speech at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the UN, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev said: "Such a at one time backward country as Kazakhstan now produces industrial goods per capita already on the same level as Italy; in electric power Kazakhstan produces more than Italy and as much as Japan."

If at the end of the first Five-Year Plan the capacity of the electric power stations had reached 24,500 kilowatts and the generating of electric power 66,5 million kilowatt-hours, then in 1960 power generating grew to 10 billion 500 million kilowatt-hours, which is more than 5 times greater than the power output for all of Tsarist Russia. In the production of electric power Kazakhstan now occupies third place in the nation after the RSFSR and the Ukraine. Per capita here this is more than 1000 kilowatt-hours. Large electric power stations which are united into a powerful electric system are at work in the Republic.

On the basis of the vigorous development of industry and heavy industry, the Communist Party has organized a sharp rise in the socialist agriculture in the KSSR [Kazakh SSR]. Particularly great and truly revolutionary changes were brought about after the September (1953) and February-March (1954) Plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU, where, on the initiative of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, resolutions were passed on increasing the production of grain by the means of tilling the virgin and fallow lands in Siberia and in Kazakhstan.

Our Republic played a leading role in this most important undertaking in possessing enormous masses of the most fertile virgin soil. In the spring of 1954, a great people's attack developed. In a little while the steppe was changed beyond recognition. There where the feather-grass grew, where there were tens and hundreds of kilometers of unpopulated waste, these areas now seethe with life. In the shortest period of time the enormous earthly riches of Kazakhstan were put into the service of the Motherland and the people. For centuries these lands had lay hidden; now about 26 million hectares of virgin soil have been turned.

Work on such a scale has never yet been seen in the history of agriculture. Now the area under cultivation has now reached almost 30 million hectares. In the production of marketable grain Kazakhstan now occupies second place in the Soviet Union. It is worthwhile remembering that before the mastery of the virgin soil even in the most bountiful years, Kazakhstan produced for the state not more than 86-100 million puds of grain. The average annual yield for the past five years has been 705 million puds.

In the virgin-soil areas we have built hundreds of well-built sovkhos settlements with schools, clubs, hospitals, stores, radio broadcasting and receiving units, equipped them with the latest word in technology, laid thousands of kilometers of railroads and highways, and built many elevators and grain silos.

For the egragious achievements in the harnessing of the virgin lands and in the creation of a large grain base in the country, for a significant increase in the production of grain and for the successful fulfillment in 1956 of the quotas for sale to the state of a billion puds of grain, Kazakhstan was awarded the highest government award, the Order of Lenin. In 1958, Orders of Lenin were also won by Tselinogradskaya, Zapadno-Kazakhstanskaya, Kokchetavskaya, Karagandskaya and Pavlodarskaya oblasts. The high title of Hero of Socialist Labor was awarded to 139 people.

The conquering of the new lands, in which the entire Soviet people took part, will be a bright page in the chronicle of our country; it will be a great people's feat which clearly shows the might and superiority of the socialist system, the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of our land, and their patriotism.

The Soviet people with particular force recognize/truly sagacious and Leninist wisdom in the idea of conquering the virgin soil. In this they justly see the creativity of the far-seeing policy of the Communist Party and the Leninist Central Committee; it is a policy directed to the creation of the material-technical base of communism, including in this the utilization in every way possible of the reserves and possibilities for increasing the production of agricultural products.

In 1954 and 1956, N. S. Khrushchev visited the Republic and gave deep interest to the fundamental problems in the conquering of the new lands and to the question of agronomy, live-stock breeding and rural construction. As a great expert on agriculture, he gave much

advice, and showed in what direction the economy which we have created must develop anew.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev attentively follows the growth of our Republic. On his own personal initiative the Tselinnyy [virgin-soil] kray was formed in the lay-out of Kazakhstan; this will permit the fuller use of all the possibilities and reserves of the virgin soil. The creation of Tselinnyy kray is a new manifestation of the concern of the Party and its Leninist Central Committee for the development of the productive forces of the KSSR.

In March of 1961, Nikita Sergeyevich again visited Kazakhstan. He went to the "Kantemirovets" and "Roslavl'skiy" sovkhoses, and gave some remarkable speeches to the toilers in the virgin soil; he took part in the conferences of the foremost people in agriculture in the cities of Tselinograd and Alma-Ata, and became acquainted with the course of construction in the sovkhoses. In his speeches he brought out the goal of the enormous creative work of the Party on the development of grain culture, and he defined the tasks of the second stage in the conquering of the virgin soils, which is the development of live-stock breeding. At the conference of the foremost people in agriculture in Alma-Ata, N. S. Khrushchev gave some critical remarks which will help the workers in agriculture and all of the workers in the KSSR to overcome the shortcomings in their work. We still have low and fluctuating harvests of grains and particularly of corn; in a number of places agronomy is crudely disobeyed, and a system of agriculture which is rational and meets the local soil and climatic conditions is being introduced slowly.

Taking the decisions of the January Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU as a fighting program for the creation of abundance in food stuffs, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have decided this spring to lay the basis for a rich harvest and to make the third year of the Seven-Year Plan a year of the greatest successes in the development of agricultural production. They have planted more than 25 million hectares of spring crops including nearly 17.5 million hectares of wheat, more than 1.6 million hectares of corn, 800,000 hectares of millet, 200,000 hectares of sunflowers, flax and other oil crops. We are now planting on a larger area than before such crops as barley. We have begun to widely introduce the use of buckwheat and sugar beets for cattle fodder, peas and other leguminous crops.

Our Republic has the greatest possibilities for the development of live-stock raising, particularly sheep-raising. "We must see the struggle for the increase in the production of meat and milk as the new stage in the development of the virgin-soil sovkhoses," said N. S. Khrushchev. "Not in lowering but rather in increasing the production of food and fodder grain at the expense of plowing up the new lands and increasing the harvest, it is now necessary to develop live-stock raising."

"The virgin lands have given our people millions of puds of grain. Now the workers of the virgin lands must give millions of tons of meat."

In his speech at the conference in Alma-Ata, N. S. Khrushchev pointed to the enormous unused reserves in the Republic, and to the large gaps in the direction of agriculture, and he showed the means for the further development of livestock-raising. This speech was a program for the action of the agricultural workers of Kazakhstan before whom stands the fighting task: in a short period of time to take a new offensive--to master the meat virgin lands, to get for every 100 hectares of pasture 75 centners of dressed meat, and for every 100 hectares of other agricultural land, 16 centners.

In recent years in the Republic we have done significant work in transforming the protracted backwardness of livestock raising. The number of cattle has grown, we have raised its productivity and increased production. In 1960 we sold to the state in comparison with 1953, two times the amount of meat, 1.8 times the amount of milk, 5 times the number of eggs, wool by 2.3 times, and astrakhan wool by 2.2 times.

The increase in production and the purchasing of meat has been accompanied by a further growth in cattle. Now the Republic has about 32 million head of sheep, 5.5 million large horned cattle, 1.8 million pigs, 1.2 million horses and 23 million fowl. Kazakhstan occupies second place in the number of sheep and third place in the number of cattle.

In the Kazakh SSR a whole army of true masters of livestock raising has grown up; they are the shepherds, cattlemen, millmaids, swine-raisers and fowl-raisers. Indocinated by the Communist Party, and the Soviet order, the humble workers in the villages and auls [mountain villages] from day to day increase the riches of their great Motherland. The communists of Kazakhstan are striving in every way possible to spread the experience of the advanced people and to make it the property of all the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Republic.

The growth of public livestock raising, particularly cattle and pigs has become possible due to the spread of corn planting for silage. We have a goodly number of farms where they have learned well how to cultivate this crop and where they receive high yields of grain and bulk fodder. However we have made just a few steps in this direction. We must admit that in a number of farms gross infractions of the rules of agronomy are committed in the cultivation of corn and where there are low yields.

Before the rural workers this year is the following task: to attain on all of the land planted in corn for dry cereal, a harvest of not less than 40-50 centners per hectare, and for silage up to 400-500 centners of bulk fodder on irrigated land, and up to 250-300 centners on Bogar lands.

Enormous reserves for increasing the production of meat, cotton, rice and other agricultural products are to be found in the further

irrigation and reclamation of the land. Now in the Golodnaya steppe new canals are being dug and large sovkhoses are being created. Extensive work for improving the water system is going on in all of the oblasts. We are planning for such grandiose projects as the linking of the Irtysh-Karaganda and Volga-Ural canals, and work on the Ili River. This would permit the reclamation and irrigation of millions of hectares of land in Central Kazakhstan and in the Volga-Ural inter-fluvial area.

But of no less importance are the tasks in the area of cultural and living services for the inhabitants of the virgin lands. The workers must more quickly be provided with housing, bakeries must be built at the sovkhoses, common dining rooms and trade in industrial and household goods must be well established, and hospitals, schools, clubs and movies must be built. All of this will go for the strengthening in the virgin lands of the cadres of specialists, mechanics and other workers.

The kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Kazakhstan have taken on great responsibilities: in 1961 alone they must sell to the state not less than 900 million puds of grain, 745,000 tons of meat, 1,060,000 tons of milk, 90,000 tons of wool and 233 million eggs. The kolkhoz and sovkhos workers in carrying out the competition for the noble meeting of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, from day to day are fulfilling their responsibilities by their labor.

During the years of Soviet power in Kazakhstan there has been an authentic cultural revolution. The Kazakh people like the other formerly suppressed nationalities of Tsarist Russia, have fundamentally changed their spiritual outlook and have turned into an advanced socialist nation. Kazakhstan has long since become a Republic of complete literacy. National cadres of the intelligentsia have grown up. Now more than 300,000 specialists with higher and middle special education are employed in the national economy.

In the Republic there are now more than 10,000 general education schools in which more than 1,633,000 children are studying; 145 tekhnikums and other middle special educational institutions with 81,500 students; 28 institutions of higher learning with 77,000 students. 9,400 young men and women are studying in the VUZes of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities in the nation. For every 10,000 inhabitants we have 74 students in institutions of higher learning [VUZ], while in France there are 40 and in Italy 34.

Science is developing rapidly. An Academy of Science of the Republic has been founded and is working successfully; we also have an Affiliate of the All-Union Academy of Construction and Architecture, and many scientific-research institutions. Of the 9,600 scientists, 2,300 are doctors and candidates of science.

We have gained great successes in the development of the Kazakh culture which is national in form and socialist in content. We have in Kazakhstan 18 dramatic theaters, a State Conservatory and

Philharmonic, a Kazakh State Order of Lenin Academy Theater of Opera and Ballet Imeni Abay, a motion picture industry, an orchestra of folk instruments imeni Kurmangaza, a Republic concert organization, a song and dance ensemble, a chorus, 10 popular theaters, thousands of groups for amateur dramatics and art, more than 200 Houses and Palaces of Culture, and more than 5,000 clubs and 13,000 libraries.

The writers work with inspiration on the creation of works which depict the life of the Republic and the labor feats of the people.

Books, newspapers and magazines have become a part of the life and being of the workers. The Republic now publishes 366 newspapers and many magazines. Hundreds of books are published every year and the average total number of copies reaches into the millions. The classics from Russian and foreign literature and the books of contemporary Russian writers are now read in the native Kazakh tongue. Radio, television and the movies have become a basic demand of the workers. There are now 5 television centers in the Republic and about 5,000 motion picture houses.

The hopes and the aspirations of the finest sons of the Kazakh people have come true; such men as Chokana Valikhanova, Ibraya Altynsarina, Abaya Kunanbayeva have dreamed about seeing their people free, literate and happy. The Kazakhs have found their happiness on the path shown by the Great October Revolution and in the fraternal and unbreakable family of peoples of the Soviet nation.

Kazakhstan is taking on ever higher rates in its development. Natural resources which are the richest in content and most advantageous under the conditions of exploitation are being drawn into the economic flow. We foresee further progress in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, energetics, machinery building, chemical, oil, coal, cement, food-stuffs industries as well as light industry. The amount of capital investment in the national economy of the Republic for the Seven-Year Plan will be 11.6-11.9 billion rubles, which many times surpasses the capital investments for all of the years of Soviet rule. The gross production of industry in comparison with 1958 will grow roughly by 2.7 times; this is more than 100 times against the year 1913.

Now the Kazakh Republic is a great construction area. In the Seven-Year Plan more than 240 industrial enterprises will be built here. The state plans to build 19 million cubic meters of living area, or nearly more than 2 times that of the preceeding seven years.

The tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are being met successfully. This means that with the passing of every year the material and cultural needs of the Soviet people will be satisfied more fully. The real wage of the workers and white-collar workers is growing, and the income of the kolkhoz worker is increasing.

The successes of Soviet Kazakhstan are evident. But there are still foreigners who, having put on dark glasses, see Soviet reality in a dark light. In following the orders of their imperialist masters,

they cry that the Kazakh people have forfeited their freedom, and that Kazakhstan is no different from a "colony," etc. It is evident that the imperialists would like to see a "freedom" flourish in Kazakhstan such as, let us say, exists in the Union of South Africa--a freedom to starve to death, the freedom to wait upon the alms from the gentlemen and to be their slave,

No, our people did not fight for such a "freedom" in the years of the revolution. The finest sons of the Kazakh people, Amangel'dy Imanov, Saken Seyfullin, Alibi Dzhangil'din and many, many others did not fight for such a life. Nor did thousands of Kazakhs give up their lives fighting shoulder to shoulder with the sons of all the peoples of our Motherland during the Great Patriotic War for such a "freedom."

Within the friendly fraternal family of peoples, the workers of the Republic are creating their own bright future.

"You should be proud," said N. S. Khrushchev at the meeting of the advanced people in agriculture in Alma-Ata, "that in your Republic, the representatives of hundreds of nationalities and minorities of the Soviet Union live and work in a friendly way, as if in one family and in political and moral solidarity." This is the result of the Leninist national policy.

The jubilee anniversary of the KSSR coincides with the 40th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the CPSU it has travelled a glorious, historical path and stands as a fighting section of the CPSU, faithful to the undying and all-triumphant teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle of the workers for the establishment of a Soviet government in the cities, villages and auls of Kazakhstan, for a socialist industrialization and for the collectivization of the peasants' farms has been carried out under the leadership of the Party organizations. They have united and led the masses along the path of socialist construction and carried out the inspired line of the Party. The successes of the Republic, the growth of its industry, the rise in agriculture, all are the direct result of the multiple activities of the Kazakh CP for realizing the idea of the CPSU, as well as the decisions of the Congresses and Plenums of the Party Central Committee.

The Kazakh CP and all of the Republic's workers have increased the active preparation for the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The Party organization are mobilizing the workers for the successful fulfilling of the tasks of the third year of the Seven-Year Plan, and are preparing new production gifts for the Congress.

At its jubilee Kazakhstan is found in the condition of the flourishing of the creative forces of the people. The Republic's workers will defend the victories of the Great October, will hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism, strengthen the friendship between peoples and, not sparing their strength, will fight for new successes in communist construction.

## ON THE STATE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

[Following is the translation of an article by B. Ponomarev, in Kommunist No 8, Moscow, May 1961, pp. 33-48.]

In November 1960, the Moscow Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties, having thoroughly analyzed the contemporary stage in the development of anti-imperialist, national liberation revolutions, advanced the notion of the creation of a national democratic state.. The Declaration passed at the Conference stated:

"In the contemporary historical situation the suitable international and internal conditions are created for the formation in many countries of an independent state of national democracy; that is, a state which subsequently establishes its political and economic independence, which struggles against imperialism and its military blocs and against military bases on its territory. It is a state which fights against new forms of colonialism and the penetration of international imperialist capital, a state which does not employ dictatorial and despotic methods for rule. It is a state in which the people are provided with wide democratic rights and freedoms (the freedom of word, press, assembly, demonstrations, the creation of political parties and social organizations), the possibility of carrying out agrarian reforms and accomplishing other needs in the area of democratic and social transformation, and participating in the determination of state policy."

This evaluation formed on the bases of studying the underlying processes in the national liberation movement, its tendencies and strivings, is the creative development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national liberation revolution. The representatives of the communist and workers parties of the liberated countries participated actively in working it out, but these parties are in the first ranks of the fighters for social progress in their states.

The essence of this evaluation consists in that it clearly speaks of the goals of the anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution, and characterises the conditions under which the real independent development of countries and peoples which are emerging from colonial slavery can be provided. The formation of a national democratic state answers the basic task of uniting a broad national front for the repulsing of imperialism, the liquidation of the burdensome heritage of the state of foreign capital, and the movement along the path to social progress. This evaluation is based soundly in life. For before the liberated nations stands the pressing problem: how to

progress in order to more quickly liquidate the colonial heritage, how to found and strengthen political and economic independence, and provide for social progress. The thesis on the state of a national democracy gives the answer to these questions.

The reality of the creation of a national democratic state in many nations is determined by the objective conditions of the modern world in which there are the greatest revolutionary changes taking place. The main content, the main direction and the basic peculiarities of the development of human society in the modern era are determined by the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism and for the socialist reconstruction of society. Second in importance after the formation of the world socialist system is the downfall of the colonial system, the process of the liberation of the suppressed peoples and the creation of independent national states.

The appearance of Asia, Africa and Latin America is changing. Even recently all of the nations of Africa and the majority of Asian states were under the colonial yoke. The Latin American states, although formally they had their political independence, were bound hand and foot to the monopolies of the United States of America. These three enormous continents were turned by the imperialist powers into their own agrarian-raw material appendages.

The colonizers felt that their rule would be eternal. One of the most cynical proponents of colonialism, the English millionaire, Cecil Rhodes, frankly confessed, "We, the colonial politicians, must rule the new lands," we "must become imperialists." Expressing the colonialist aspirations of the French bourgeoisie, the historian Driau in the book The Political and Social Problems at the End of the 19th Century, wrote, "We have to hurry up; the nations which are not providing for themselves, are risking not getting any part and do not participate in that gigantic exploitation of the world which will be one of the essential facts of the next (that is the 20th) century. This is why all of Europe and America have recently been seized with the disease of colonial expansion and "imperialism" which is the most remarkable characteristic trait of the end of the 19th century."

But the colonialists miscalculated. The 20th century is not the century for the strengthening of colonialism, but its downfall. The Great October Socialist Revolution woke up the colonial peoples, and drew them into the general current of the world-wide revolutionary movement. The victory of the USSR in the Second World War and the victory of the socialist revolutions in a number of nations in Europe and Asia to a large measure accelerated this process. Imperialism did not have the power to stop the national liberation struggle of peoples. Up to the present in fact all of the great colonial empires--English, French, Dutch and Belgian--have already fallen or are in the process of falling. In the post-war years about 40 nations have been liberated from the colonial yoke.

The imperialistic crows, thrilled over their peacock feather, for many years have been cawing to all the world about their "civilizing mission" in the colonies. Now when the peoples of the majority of nations have flung out these uninvited "civilizers", it is particularly clear what their actual role was. By fire and sword the colonizers deprived the national dependencies of 2/3 of their population, suppressed their national culture, mutilated their economies, executed and imprisoned millions of people, established regimes of the knout and gallows, of police rule and ruthless exploitation; their development was put back 100 years.

Bourgeois propaganda shamelessly eulogizes the richness of the capitalist countries such as the USA, France and England. But it is silent on the fact that capitalism in these states has reached the degree of development at the expense of not only the ruthless exploitation of the "free" workers, but as well by the plundering of the majority of the world's nations. Like a giant octopus, the imperialist monopolies have sucked the life out of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The plundering of the national riches of the colonial and dependent nations is one of the most negative features of imperialism. But let the facts speak about the scale of this plundering. Africa produces 96% of the diamonds used in the capitalist world, 67% of the cobalt production, 64% of the gold, 42% of the manganese ore, 25% of the copper, 24% of the uranium, etc. But with such riches Africa receives less than 3% of the world's income. Or let us take Latin America. In 1958 there was produced 20% of the copper in the capitalist world, 16% of the tin, 34% of the antimony, 40% of the silver, 10% of the nickel and 13% of the mercury. But at the same time in 1958 Latin America consumed only 3% of the copper, 4% of the lead, 3% of the tin, etc, used in the capitalist world.

One of the means for plundering the colonial and dependent nations is unbalanced trade. In 1954 the purchasing price of coffee in Uganda was 112 pounds sterling per ton while its world price was 500 pounds. In Nigeria cacao beans were purchased for 155-170 pounds sterling per ton and sold on the world market for 500-550 pounds. As for the goods which are produced in the metropolitan areas, they are sold in the colonies at prices significantly higher than the world prices. For example the price of wheat imported by France into her former colony of West Africa exceeded the world price by 80%, the price of sugar by 100% and cotton cloth by 35%.

Subsequently the monopolies have the policy of lowering the prices on the products produced in the under-developed nations, while increasing the prices for their own industrial products. If in 1950 Uruguay could buy 112 tractors for 100 tons of wool, then in 1956 only 44. In 1928 Argentina paid for one tractor 42 tons of wheat, in 1937, 50 tons, and in 1956, 111 tons. As a result of such a rapacious policy, the monopolies have become monstrously rich while the colonial and dependent nations are becoming ever more impoverished.

Widespread epidemics and high mortality rates are a consequence of colonial rule. In the countries of Africa in fact there is not a system of public health. If in England in 1956 there was one physician for every 698 inhabitants, in Kenya there was one per 9,889, in Northern Rhodesia one per 10,350, in Nigeria one per 52,985, and in the British Cameroons one for 62,650. In many regions of the Congo, from 60 to 90% of the inhabitants suffer from malaria, 50% are ill with tuberculosis. Infant mortality has reached 50%.

As a result of the cruel suppression of the colonialists, as a result of the terrible poverty of the masses and the absence of medical aid, there is a sharp curtailment of the population in the colonial nations. The proportion of Africa's population in the general world population has gone down from 20% in the 16th century to 8% in the 20th century. In the half-century of rule by the Belgian colonialists, the population of the Congo has almost cut in half. Sixty years of French rule has resulted in the population of Madagascar decreasing by more than one-half, while the colony of Chad has fallen five times.

The colonial powers held the peoples in darkness and ignorance. Africa today where the English French and Belgian colonialists ruled is a region of almost total illiteracy. In Somaliland and in the countries of Equatorial and Western Africa, 95-99% of the adult population is illiterate. In the rest of the African nations, illiteracy is 60-80% of the adult population.

A middle and higher education in the African nations was impossible for the indigenous population. In 1957 in Kenya, diplomas for finishing middle school were received by a total of 363 Africans, in Northern Rhodesia, 87; in Southern Rhodesia, 75; in Nyasaland, 54. In Mozambique not one African finished the full course in the lycee.

All of these facts (and one could give an infinite number) sound the death sentence for the disgraceful colonial system of imperialism which has brought such poverty and suffering to the peoples.

The anti-imperialist and national liberation revolutions which are developing in the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are a great progressive process. They raise to historical creativeness the peoples enslaved by imperialism, deal heavy blows to the system of imperialism and limit the area of its unbridled rule.

The national liberation movement has gained great victories. But ahead there are still many difficulties and experiments. Complex problems remained to be solved. Up til now about 100 million persons have been under the yoke of colonialism, 20 African nations are still held in the chains of slavery; in order to break the chains, a decisive and selfless struggle is needed. The heroic battle for the national liberation of the Algerian people is in its seventh year; they have the sympathy and moral support of all progressive people. Ever wider burns the flame of the national liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Kenya and Tanganyika. "Freedom and independence--now!" is the just demand of the enslaved peoples.

The national liberation struggle is far from complete in many of the nations which have attained political independence.

"The imperialists now are not in the position to crush by force the strivings of the African peoples for political and economic freedom and independence," said the President of the Guinea Republic, Sekou Toure. "Therefore they are trying to act by devious means. They give the appearance of being well-disposed to the striving of the African peoples for independence and at the same time are securing the signatures with African nations for such agreements as would permit them to preserve in one or another form their rule, their economic positions and their military and strategic bases on African territory; they are making concession in the economic and financial area."

Political independence is the first step to the achievement of authentic freedom. The second and no less important step is the achievement of economic independence and the creation of a nation's own developed economy. One cannot consider independence secured without this condition. This is why the most important task of a liberated nation is seen in the creation of its own economy which is independent of the imperialist powers.

Each people strives for a better and more effective means of social progress. It is understood that the peoples in the colonial nations did not become free in order to again, but only in a different form, wear the yoke of colonialism and imperialist exploitation.

The peoples of the former colonies and dependent nations are at various stages in the struggle for complete liberation from the yoke of imperialism, for national independence, the liquidation of the heritage of the rule by foreign capital and the development along the path to social progress. Many of the liberated nations have already taken a number of important steps in the development of the national economy and in the creation of their own industry.

Great revolutionary changes have been going on for the past two years in Cuba. The Cuban revolution, in the descriptive words of the Uruguayan public figure Alba Robalo, has cut off the heads of three monsters: imperialism, a predatory and bloody government and social poverty. The Cuban people have solved the tasks of the agrarian, anti-imperialist, democratic and national liberation stage of the revolution and are going further. Cuba is conducting an independent internal and external policy. The economic domination of the North American monopolies has been eliminated, and all of the basic fields of industry have been nationalized. Foreign trade has become a state monopoly.

As a result of a radical agrarian reform, the land has been given to the agricultural workers and peasants. More than 100,000 farmers who previously rented their plots, now have been given land. More than 80% of the working population in the nation works in the public sector, either in state or cooperative enterprises. In the years of the revolution the amount of industrial production has increased by

more than 35%; the production of agricultural products is growing, and 25,000 dwellings have been built. Within only the first 20 months the revolutionary government opened 10,000 new schools, which is double the number which had been built in the preceding 50 years. Cuba is the first nation in Latin America to satisfy all of the needs of the people for school instruction and to carry out the largest social changes.

Revolutionary Cuba has opened the front for a subsequent active struggle with imperialism in Latin America.

It is understood that there are great differences in the forms and even in the character of the struggle with imperialism in various parts of the world. However its common trend is anti-imperialism.

Great changes have been carried out in the Guinea Republic. The institution of feudal leaders has been liquidated; these chiefs actively supported the colonialists in the aims of dividing the nation. The government has established control over domestic and foreign trade. The Administration for foreign trade has been given the sole right to import goods of the greatest necessity. The Administration for foreign trade includes in its functions the providing of markets for imported goods, the supplying of the trade network and the control over the retail and wholesale dealers in the private sector.

In 1960 was passed the first Three-Year Plan for economic development; the main task of this plan is "an increase in the living standard, economic decolonization and the beginning of the transformation of the nation into a developed state." Great importance is given to cooperation in industry and agriculture. In this the government of the Republic sees the means for freeing the Guinean people from colonial exploitation and providing for its well-being. In the country the right of private ownership for the land has been eliminated by preserving the right to use the land for those who work it. Land has ceased to be the property of the French government and has become the national property of the Republic. Enterprises of the former French companies are being nationalized on the basis of the purchase of their stocks by the Guinean Republic. Guinea has established economic ties with the socialist countries.

Basic measures which have as their goal the strengthening of political independence have been carried out in Ghana. Such economic organizations as the Corporation for the Development of Agriculture, the Corporation for Industrial Development and the Administration for the Cacao Market are doing work under the control of the government. At the end of December 1960, the joint conference composed of the representatives of the ruling People's Party, the Trade Union Congress, the Farmers Council and the National Cooperative Council recommended additional measures for economic planning and for strengthening the state control over the economy. In particular, it was recommended that there be established a Council on Planning Questions, a Development Bank, a state trading company, an administration for the diamond market, etc. The government of Ghana is striving to develop the state sector of the economy. In the country English administrators are being replaced by

Ghanians. In two years the percent of literacy has increased 4 times. This year the government intends to introduce general obligatory and free primary education.

In the young Republic of Mali they have created an export-import society which has been given the monopoly on the sale abroad of all the export goods and it also has the rights to the sole import into the country of some of the most important items. In the country fixed prices have been established on the basic products of agriculture. They are now erecting the first national enterprise for the production of agricultural tools; they also intend to equip textile, meat-packing and other plants.

In 1957 Indonesia passed a law which nationalized Dutch property, and in November 1959 passed a law regulating rents; this law set the maximum rent for rented land at 50% of the crop. This somewhat improves the position of the renters. In the nation they are also creating such important fields of industry as ferrous metallurgy, machine building and the chemical industry.

All of this, to be sure, is only the first steps in the creation of a national economy. Even in the above-mentioned nations the influence of foreign capital is still very strong. The monopolies of the former colonial powers occupy as before a decisive position in the economies of the majority of the freed nations. English capital investment in the African nations at the end of 1959 was 6.3 billion dollars, French investment 6.9, and the Belgian 3.5 billion. American capital investment in comparison with the pre-war period in the African continent has grown by more than 20 times. The former Vice-President of the USA, Nixon, cynically explained, "The crisis of the colonial policy in Africa is the simultaneous occasion and instance for the expansion of the direct influence of the United States." West-German capital is also strengthening its position in the former colonial nations. In 1957 the direct private capital investments of the West-German monopolies was 89.4 million DM in Africa, and in 1959 they had already reached 152.9 million DM.

The so-called American aid in fact means, as even Harriman has recognized, "a program of assistance for America." The USA has given the under-developed nations in the order of 23 billion dollars for military aid, and has forced them to spend 141 billion dollars for military purposes. The 12 Latin American nations which have concluded bi-lateral agreements with the USA for mutual assistance and defense, spend for military needs roughly 9-10 of their own dollars for every dollar received from the USA for military assistance.

The period after the Second World War has confirmed that imperialism is trying with all its force to preserve its privileges and its control over the world of the under-developed nations. It is namely to this end that the whole arsenal of various methods and means that imperialism has started is directed. Using economic levers, the imperialist powers led by the USA draw the liberated nations into military pacts and create military bases on their territory. The imperialists want to emasculate and subvert the national sovereignty of the liberated

nations, to distort the notion of self-determination, and to bind them with new forms of colonial rule.

The colonialists are trying to make it seem as if the peoples of the liberated nations should still for a long time study the art of ruling a state, and until they have come to understand this art, they must put up with foreign administrators. "It is necessary to make clear to the African populations," writes the English newspaper Times, "that several generations will pass until it has received sufficient experience and can take active part in the running of the nation, and at the present time, no one is prepared for this." A member of the Belgian "colonial council" Mendeau has tried to prove in his book that the King of Belgium should be at once the head of an independent Congo, and the problems relating to defense, finance, the common market, etc., must be the subject of joint agreements (this should read; tied to the Belgium government) between Belgium and the Congo. The book of Mendeau ends with the appeal, "Let God enlighten and direct the responsible leaders of the Congolese people along this path."

As is known, the people of the Congo did go along the path to the creation of a truly independent state and the decisive liquidation of the heritage of the colonial rule of Belgium. And because of this the people have run up against the furious opposition of the Belgian monopolists who are being supported by the old and new imperialist colonizers.

The French Magazine Marches Tropiceau et Mediterraneau wrote recently: "It is necessary to aid the African nations which without assistance and support will not be able to become states in the full sense of this word. But we will demand from them in their turn to assume a position of active and sincere cooperation in their relations with France." Another such tirade: "We will demand from them," "you won't get by without assistance and support." This is a shameless humiliation of the capabilities of the liberated peoples and at the same time a direct threat to them; if, they say, you don't obey, they will force you to accept decisions which are welcomed by the imperialists.

In the majority of the freed nations there are no longer the external attributes of colonialism such as viceroys, foreign governors-generals and the gendarmes. Now the colonialists act through more veiled and refined methods, chiefly through figureheads who have been bought off or through traitorous elements who carry out the will of the colonialists and who conduct an anti-national policy. The vile traitors to the interests of the Congolese people, Tshombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu can serve as an example. The venomous weapon of national and tribal animosities is widely used in the aim of undermining the position of the liberated nations. In many of the freed nations, particularly in Africa, the colonialists are trying to impede the progress of consolidating the nation by instigating strife between the tribes and by creating small states which will be completely dependent upon the foreign rulers.

Through the economic enslavement of the liberated nations and installation of traitorous puppet regimes the imperialists are trying in the first place to exploit these nations as before, and in the second place, to keep them in the orbit of capitalism. In trying to direct the further development of the liberated nations along the path of capitalism, the imperialist policy is attempting all the more to strengthen the position of world capitalism which has outlived its time.

Today the imperialist circles of the USA have turned into the main stronghold of colonialism and into the international gendarmarie. They do not stop at the most foul and extreme means in order to suppress the national liberation movement. They wish to bury the blooms which have sprung up in the springtime of the liberation of peoples. Everywhere that there flows the blood of the people's fighters, in Algeria, the Congo, Oman, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, this is the work of the militant colonialists and their main stronghold, the American monopolists. The imperialists of the USA have organized a direct bandit intervention of mercenary bands in Cuba. These counter-revolutionary bands were instructed by American officers, supplied with American weapons and debarked from American ships under the cover of American airplanes.

Why did the USA organize the criminal attack on the Cuban Republic? Because they feared that the example of revolutionary Cuba would attract all of Latin America. The imperialists of the USA want to extinguish the beacon of freedom in all continents and to reduce the peoples to darkness; but in the conditions of today it is obvious that they do not have the forces to do this. No matter how they might plunder, no matter how they might rage, the imperialists can not alter the laws of historical development. The tree of colonialism is rotten and no shores will be able to support it. It is impossible to put out the dawn of liberation. It will burn even brighter. Peoples have entered the movement and they have the right to choose for themselves the path of social development. The question of the means for further development is the most vital and important question for the peoples who have been freed from the yoke of colonialism.

What in practice does the capitalist way of development mean for the liberated nation? It means the preservation and strengthening of exploitation of the broad masses by the imperialist monopolies and by the upper local bourgeoisie which is cooperating with the imperialists; it means the preservation and conservation of economic and cultural backwardness. By this means, it is impossible to solve the pressing social problems in the interests of the masses, and it is impossible to provide for national independence. The path of capitalism does not correspond to the interests of the absolute majority of the population in the liberated countries. For the workers it can only bring a strengthening of exploitation and impoverishment. For the peasants it will mean new taxes and ruin; the land for which the peasants are struggling will fall into the hands of the large monopolies. For the intelligentsia it will be suffering and the torment of unemployment

or joyless work for the enrichment of the monopolists. For the nation as a whole, it will mean the threat of enslavement by the imperialist plunderers.

The laws of social development refute the capitalist path. The young national states have won their independence in a period when capitalism is in decline and in a stage of disintegration and death. A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism; it is a stage which attests to the further weakening and fall of the world capitalist system. Historically capitalism has outlived itself, and it cannot give humanity anything else except suffering.

In the young states which have arisen on the ruins of colonialism live more than 1.5 billion people. The peoples of these nations have the real opportunity of conducting an independent foreign policy and to develop along the way to social progress. This opportunity is provided for first of all by the socialist states who are close in understanding the aspiration of these peoples who are struggling to freedom and independence. The socialist states have become an enormous international force which has shown the greatest influence on the course of historical development. The world socialist system is the hoped-for shield of independence for the liberated peoples and their support in the struggle against new intrigues of the imperialists. More than 300 industrial enterprises have already been equipped in these nations with the assistance from the USSR. The steel plant in Bhilai, the Aswan dam in Egypt and electric power stations in many other countries are the concrete embodiment of the aid from the USSR.

"We want," said N. S. Khrushchev, "these nation to stand on their own two feet, to create their own industry which will be capable of producing not only consumer goods but also production goods. This will allow for the creation of their own industrial bases and the acceleration of the rates of economic development in the under-developed nations. We proceed from the view that any nation which is striving to strengthen its independence should develop its own national industry, its own economy so that it may increase the well-being of the people and develop their culture."

The new factor in the modern situation consists in the fact that now not only the Soviet Union but also other socialist states can give aid to the under-developed states, and that now in the example not only of the Soviet Union but in other socialist countries of Asia and Europe the advantages of socialism become evident. The rapprochement between the socialist states and the liberated nations which together comprise more than two-thirds of humanity is such a great force that it is capable of protecting the world from the terrors of a new world war.

The growth of progressive forces and the raising of national consciousness in the masses is of enormous importance for the choosing of the historical path of development in the liberated nations.

The peoples of the former colonial nations have gone through a hard school of political enlightenment. They have experienced the oppression of the colonialists, have formed a hate for them, and have carried on a historical struggle against them. For the prospects in

the further struggle of these peoples there is the very important fact that in many of them industry is developing and a working class is forming and developing. There are now significant sections of a working class in India, Indonesia and in the majority of countries of Latin America. In Africa according to an approximate count there are about 10-11 million workers. Communist and workers parties are active in almost all of the 50 states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In having thrown off the yoke of the colonialists and in having attained national liberation, the peoples have recognized their force, have felt the taste of freedom and have seen the truly limitless possibilities for their free development in harmony with their interests and aspirations.

The peoples of the former colonial countries have won their independence through the means of armed struggle as well as by peaceful means. But in all instances the independence was attained as a result of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic and national-liberation struggle. It was conducted by the basic classes and social groups in these nations: the workers, the peasants, the intelligentsia, the craftsmen and the national bourgeoisie.

In its sharpness this struggle was directed against the forces of imperialism which is the stangler and oppressor of the peoples. The main task of the struggle is to free the country from the clutches of imperialism and from foreign rule. Therefore this is an anti-imperialist revolution.

The allies of imperialism in the colonial nations are above all the feudal leaders; they are trying to preserve the remains of the Middle Ages which are binding the development of the productive forces. They are furthering and defending tribal differences. One of the important tasks of the revolution is to uproot feudalism and the remains of the Middle Ages. Therefore this is an anti-feudal revolution.

A main goal of the revolution is to attain national freedom and independence and to throw off the yoke of colonialism. Therefore this is a national liberation revolution.

The chief means for strengthening the won national liberty and for providing for social progress is to give democratic rights to the people and to establish democratic orders. Therefore this is a democratic revolution.

All of these tasks can be successfully solved by the means of the creation and development of a national-democratic state. The importance and role of the national-democratic state are found in that in arising during the course of the development and deepening of the national-liberation revolution, it strengthens and develops the victory of the revolution.

It is very important that in the state of a national democracy national independence and democracy are united. In such a state the representatives of the progressive forces of the nation should be in

power. They take into their hands the banner of national independence and provide for the development of the country along the path of social progress. And in those liberated nations where the peoples are still deprived of democratic liberties, the struggle for the creation of a national democratic state provides the possibility of the progressive forces supplanting the remnants of the colonial administration, to seize power from the national traitors who are in the service of imperialism and to take the fate of their nations into their own hands.

The peoples of the liberated nations find themselves at various levels of economic, political and cultural development. The predominant majority of them are extremely backward in terms of technology and economics; they are agrarian nations with poorly developed productive forces. In many of them the population is still divided into tribes, and the process of forming the nation is still not completed. The state of a national democracy creates the conditions for the successful transformation of the backwardness, for the consolidation of the nation and the strengthening of the democratic forces.

It is understood that the process of deepening the anti-imperialist revolution necessitates a demarcation of the class forces. All of the patriotic forces of the nation are united in the struggle for the liberation of the country from the yoke of colonialism. In this struggle the national bourgeoisie, a significant part of the landowners, the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia participate. At a further stage the splitting of ways takes place. The workers want to secure the shortening of the working day and the increase in wages; the peasantry wants to receive the land and the opportunity to use the fruits of his labor. The workers, peasants and intelligentsia struggle for the securing of democratic rights and liberties. The capitalists on the other hand are working to extract greater profits, and the landowners seek to keep the land in their own hands. In other words, the aspiration of the progressive forces and their striving for the development of the country along the path of social progress and for the strengthening of national independence are confronted by the opposition of the reactionary circles who are leaning on the support of foreign imperialists.

It is understood that such process<sup>es</sup> in the nations which have been liberated from imperialist suppression arise not out of the will and desire of one or another party or individual, but due to the contradictions between the fundamental interests of the various classes.

The policy of the national bourgeoisie is contradictory. It participates in the struggle against colonialism and attempts to weaken the control of the foreign monopolies over the national economy, but at the same time it continues its ties with the imperialist powers and permits the further influx of foreign capital. In trying to restrain and weaken feudalism, the national bourgeoisie at the same time makes concessions to the landowners in forming an alliance with them against the progressive forces. The expansion of national industry and the nationalization of foreign capital is advantageous to it. It argues for

the industrialization of the country and is ready to accept the expansion of the state sector. But in all of its policy, the upper national bourgeoisie has in mind the use of capitalist methods. It supports the monopolists in their attacks on the workers. While summoning the people to cooperate in the fulfilment of the tasks for economic development, it at the same time strengthens the bureaucratic apparatus, and refuses to expand democracy and to undertake measures for the betterment of the people's position.

The conclusion of the national-liberation revolution can be attained only through the means of the decisive struggle against imperialism and internal reactionary forces. Only by the struggle of the masses is the question on the creation of a national democratic state decided. The main thing in this is the search (with a study of the specific features of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples) for the most expedient forms to unite all of the healthy forces of the nation in the struggle for the uprooting of the roots of imperialism and the remains of feudalism and for the advancement along the path of social progress.

The experience of the development of states recently liberated from imperialistic cabals attests to the fact that as a result of the nationalization of the foreign banks and the property of the monopolies, and then on the basis of the creation of state enterprises, banks, etc., there arises a form of ownership which is more progressive than private ownership; this is the state ownership of the means of production. State ownership is a great force. Its development and strengthening under the conditions of a national democratic state permit the exclusion of large private capital, and permit the progressive forces to occupy an ever more important position in production and to strengthen their political influence.

The strength of the communists consists in that they find new ways and forms for the struggle which more truly lead to the accomplishment of the basic interests of the people. The idea of a national democratic state which has been advanced by the communist and workers parties is not the fruit of ivory-tower cogitations; it has been born out of life itself.

The thesis on the state of a national democracy is a Marxist-Leninist theoretical evaluation. It is not a question that all of the liberated states must lie in certain classes and declaring: this one belongs to one category, and these to another or a third. Such an approach would be schematic and harmful. Rather it is important to see it another way: the state of a national democracy opens the way for the strengthening of political and economic independence and for social progress. In actual life there are already such liberated nations which have made a number of large steps in the path to social progress. Limitations have been put upon the development of capitalism, they are freeing themselves from the economy of the imperialist monopolies, they are creating and strengthening the state sector of the economy, carrying on agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry,

they have given democratic freedoms to all strata of the nation, and have laid the preconditions for the creation of national democratic states. The peoples themselves decide which nation will go along the path of national democracy.

What are the salient features of the state of a national democracy?

The state of a national democracy is a state which has subsequently established its political and economic independence and which struggles against imperialism and its military blocs and against military bases on its territory.

It is impossible to speak about a truly sovereign nation without the provision of political and economic independence. Political independence provides the people with the opportunity of fully driving the imperialists from their lands, of choosing the path for further development which will provide a national renaissance in the shortest historical time, of creating a national economy and raising the level of the lives and culture of the population.

The imperialists, as we have already noted, attempt in every way possible to limit national sovereignty in the liberated lands, to hold them in economic dependence, and to draw them into military pacts. In fact, the imperialists of the USA are the masters of Pakistan, Thailand, Malaya, and the Philippines. In many others such as Tunisia, Libya, Kenya, Morocco and Liberia, the imperialist countries have built military bases. The imperialists exert a strong ideological influence on them through the distribution of tendentiously chosen literature and special radio and television broadcasts.

What all this leads to is particularly convincingly shown in the example of Pakistan whose rulers have linked the country to the imperialist military blocs. About 70% of Pakistan's budget is spent for military purposes. The imperialist monopolies oppose any attempt at creating enterprises of heavy industry in Pakistan. More than that, production is being curtailed and there is scarcely any developed heavy industry. There has been a limited agrarian reform, but in fact the land-owner agriculture has been preserved in immunity. In the country there is an acute shortage of foodstuffs, a rationing system has been introduced and the majority of the people are starving.

In front of the liberated nations which are poorly developed in economic terms, there arise a number of tasks which characterize the purposes and content of the contemporary stage of the national-liberation revolution; they are, the strengthening and consolidation of political independence in the struggle with imperialism; the elimination of the oppression of foreign capital in the economy; the liquidation of unbalanced economic relations with the developed capitalist nations; the rapid development of the productive forces by the means of eliminating the remnants of the Middle Ages, raising national industry, agriculture and the elimination of the economic over-specialization; and lastly the decisive improvement in the material living standard and a rapid rise in the cultural level of the population.

These tasks are inter-related, and they comprise the elements of one general problem which is the liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from imperialist exploitation and their national renaissance. It is impossible to attain true independence without the liquidation of the position of the foreign monopolies in the economy and without the creation of the material base for the further independent development which will provide a strong independent national economy and particularly the fields of heavy industry. In its turn economic development can be provided only in the instance when all impediments are removed from its path such as the dependence on imperialist powers, depredations of foreign monopolies and the remnants of the past.

An effective means for providing economic independence is the creation of a state sector in industry; in the liberated nations it plays a progressive role. It aids in the concentration of forces on the development of the decisive fields of the national economy, it significantly increases the rates of an economic upsurge, and undermines the position of the imperialist monopolies. The development of the state sector in a national democratic state and its conversion into the determining factor of the economy can prepare the material basis for the gradual transition to a non-capitalist way of development.

The state of a national democracy is a state which fights against the old as well as the new forms of colonialism and intrusions of imperialist capital. Under the conditions where the imperialists are inventing new forms and methods of colonial exploitation, there must be a high awareness of the peoples vis-a-vis intrusions by the colonialists. The policy of colonialism is just as unacceptable for the peoples in its new forms as in its old. They want to live freely and to dispose themselves their riches.

The state of a national democracy is a state which turns away from dictatorial and despotic methods of rule. Historical experience shows that after the achievement of national independence the upper indigenous bourgeoisie and landowners attempt to establish a reactionary, anti-democratic regime in the country. The danger of establishing despotic regimes is real in many countries, and in a number of them they have already been established. The rulers of Pakistan deal harshly with the participants of the democratic movement. Here the activities of political parties is forbidden as well as for democratic organizations; there is a law according to which "the calling or holding of a meeting of demonstration for political reasons" is punishable by a 7-year prison term, while "strikes and agitation" have a 10-year term.

Ever more frequently the administrative rulers in the United Arab Republic resort to reaction and terrorist methods of punishing the honored, anti-imperialist fighters and the advanced representatives of the working class and the masses. Court trials go on one after the other. Hundreds of self-sacrificing fighters for national independence and democracy are in exile or in prisons. Many facts attest that the leaders in Iraq also are resorting to the method of repression, where

the government came into power in the country as a result of the active support from the workers and their democratic organizations.

In resorting to the establishment of dictatorial regimes, the reactionary upper bourgeoisie weakens the unity of the nation in the struggle against imperialism and deals a blow to the national interests. Such a policy leads to the narrowing of the social base in the struggle against foreign imperialists, and in the future to a loss of national independence. The decisive struggle against the attempts to establish dictatorial and despotic regimes is a means to strengthening the unity of the nation and its position in the struggle against colonialism in all of its forms and manifestations.

The state of the national democracy is a state in which the people are provided with wide democratic rights and liberties, and as well the opportunity of carrying out agrarian reforms and the realization of other needs in the area of democratic and social transformations. The turning point in the development of the national-democratic revolution, the consolidation of its successes and the raising of the revolution to a higher state is the giving of democratic rights and liberties to the people; these are such rights as the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, demonstration, the right to create political parties and social organizations, for the participation in the determination of state policy. The more widely the democratic liberties are given, the greater the masses influence the fate of the nation, and the more the state expresses the interests of the nation, and the stronger the state is, the more selflessly are the victories protected by the working masses.

Having thrown off the yoke of colonialism, the masses naturally strive to better their position and to carry out a number of reforms in their benefit. Particularly pressing for the liberated nations is the realization of agrarian reforms; the peasantry represents in these states more than half of the population and in the nations of Africa from 80-90%. Without a thorough agrarian transformation and without the liquidation of the remains and carry-overs of feudalism it is impossible to solve the problem of food-supply, and to provide for the development of the productive forces. The solution to the peasant question, which directly involved the interests of the majority of the population, is problem number one in all of the liberated nations.

The realization of the thesis on the state of a national democracy which was drawn up in the resolution of the Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties would provide the liberated nations with the opportunity of making decisive steps in the question of strengthening national independence, in developing the national economy, in raising the living standard of the people, and it would give the people wide democratic rights and liberties. This is the most important condition for the all-round progress of the liberated nations, in increasing their role in the fight for peace against the aggressive policy of imperialism and for the complete liquidation of colonialism.

The creation of a national democratic state, its development, and the progressive transformation which it carries out can only come about under the condition of the struggle of the working masses, and their unity in their own party and organization. The reactionary circles fiercely attack the freedom of creating progressive political parties and depict this as a blow to the unity of the nation. But in the liberated nation various classes exist and, as is happening, there is fertile soil for the existence of political parties which express their interests.

Communists have always been in the front ranks of the fighters for national independence, and thousands of them have fallen in a hero's death in the fight against colonialism. But now however still in a majority of the liberated nations the communist parties are underground. Is this right? No, absolutely not. The communists express the interests of the working class, of the peasant mass and the highest interests of the nation. The prohibition of their party in practice means the prohibition of the workers' and peasants' fight, and the entire people for their rights. But the struggle of the masses for their inherent rights cannot be stopped by any such Draconic measures. Anyone who commences on an anti-democratic course, who prohibits the activity of the progressive parties and organizations, is guilty of dealing a blow to the fundamental interests of his nation, willingly or unwillingly provides for the loss of all the victories and may create the conditions for the return of the rule by foreign imperialists.

This was clearly shown in the example of Turkey when its policy was determined by Bayar and Menderes who surrendered to oblivion all of the positive aspects of Kemalism. At the first stage, the liberation movement in Turkey was characterized by a decisive anti-imperialist struggle and by the carrying out of a number of reforms which were directed at the overcoming of feudal remains. Kemal established friendly relations with Soviet Russia which strengthened the position of Turkey in the international arena.

However later on the right wing of the Kemalists directed their policy against the basic interests of the workers and peasants and against the national minorities. In trying to deprive the working class and other suppressed segments of the population of the opportunity for an organized struggle for their rights, the right wing came out against the democratization of the social order and began to prosecute cruelly all of the progressive forces. The national needs began to be pushed ever more into the background in order to please narrow-class interests of the Turkish upper bourgeoisie which moved toward internal as well as external reaction. The country was drawn into various imperialist military blocs and began even more to orient herself toward the imperialist powers and thus fell into dependence upon them. In Turkey they have built large American military bases which are already causing great harm to her interests; in the event that they are used by those who built them, then this will place the nation in an extremely dangerous position.

Turkey as she was and as she has remained is one of the most backward nations of the world. Only in one field has there been a marked "upsurge" and this is in the field of the prices of essential goods. They are second in the world for their rate of inflation. The official basic minimum for a family of four persons in 1959-1960 was figured at 2,000-2,500 liras, while the wage for workers was 150-300 liras for a textile worker and 300-600 for a miner. Sixty percent of the population was illiterate in 1959.

The anti-national, reactionary regime of Bayar and Menderes has been overthrown and they themselves have been put in the docket. But this example should be studied. It shows how anti-democratic measures carried out by the leaders of the upper bourgeoisie, have hindered the development of the country and how the obsequiousness of her former rulers before the imperialist powers led Turkey to complete dependence upon the imperialist powers.

In as much as the imperialists now count upon the split in the national forces of the liberated nations, then the unity of these forces in the struggle against the reactionaries and against the henchmen and lackeys of imperialism takes on particularly great importance.

The most consistent fighter for the conclusion of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist and democratic revolution is the working class. The peasantry will become its ally. This union is the most important force in the question of the winning and the protecting of national independence, in carrying out deep democratic transformations and providing for social progress. On its strength and unity also depends to no small degree the amount of participation by the national bourgeoisie in the liberation fight. The stronger the union between the working class and the peasantry the more powerfully it can direct and influence the national bourgeoisie, activate the progressive areas in its activity and limit conciliators. The unity of the liberated states in the fight against the old and the new colonialists is an important factor in the fight against the attempts of the imperialists to stifle the national-revolutionary revolution.

National democracy provides the opportunity for every nation which has attained political independence and independently of the level of its productive forces, to weaken the influence and then to withdraw from the system of world capitalism, and to go forward along the path of providing not only political but also economic independence and the all-round flourishing of the material and spiritual forces.

The fact that the idea of creating a state of national democracy was originated by the communists once again shows that the communists are the most ardent defenders of national interests and the selfless patriots of their nations.

The state of a national democracy has been called to provide the constant decision of tasks for strengthening political and economic independence in the liberated lands, for liquidating the rule of imperialism and for the development of social progress.

There is no doubt that the state of a national democracy provides the opportunity for opening up the prospects for a transition to a higher form of social structure, depending upon the degree of maturity in the objective and subjective prerequisites and on the struggle of the peoples of these lands. For the victory of a socialist order there must be revolutionary changes in one or another form. However it is not excluded that the road to a non-capitalist path of development in some countries can be realized through the state of a national democracy. It is the best form for providing the deep social and economic transformations, the transition to a quantitatively new stage in the development of a given nation, and the possibility of a non-capitalist way. The creation of national democratic states, the successful solution by them of the tasks of liquidating the rule of imperialist monopolies, the development towards social progress and democracy and the active struggle for peace would deal new strong blows to the colonial powers and to the imperialist system as a whole. Marxism-Leninism teaches that all peoples will come to socialism. But they themselves will choose the means of the transformation.

The peoples in their experience are well acquainted with the essence of the capitalist order with its plundering laws of exploitation and suppression. This explains why in the liberated nations only the most outright reactionaries talk about the path of capitalism. The progressive people of Africa, Asia and Latin America have swept this way aside. Socialism is the most popular notion in these continents.

The leaders of many of the liberated nations are talking about socialism. Of course the socialism of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders in the liberated nations is not identical but rather often contradictory to the understanding of socialism for Marxism-Leninism. But it is already characteristic that today the leader who wishes to win the sympathy of the people cannot but recognize socialism as the path which will provide the development of the country to national independence and to the flourishing of the nation. Times are changing.

The Soviet Union and the nations of people's democracy through their world-wide and historical successes in the development of industry and of the entire economy, in the increase of the people's well-being and culture are bringing about a change of mind among peoples of the world. Speaking about the achievements of Soviet science which had received concrete expression in the world's first flight by a Soviet man into the cosmos, the Ghanaian newspaper, Evening News, wrote: "The fact that this feat was possible some forty years after the commencement of a formerly backward nation on the path of development under the conditions of actual freedom, is clear proof of the power and effectiveness of a socialist order. This is a good example for African as well as all other new nations."

The Uruguayan newspaper Popular has made the following conclusion: "For 43 years the ideologists of capitalism have been making fun of the workers' and peasants' state. And each time they foretold its eminent demise, stating that the workers and peasants are in no condition to rule a state. This lie has been broken to smithereens before the eyes of the whole world. The workers and peasants can rule a state...and how!

Historical experience has shown that in the contemporary era, the capitalist stage of development is completely not obligatory for an economically backward nation. This is fully substantiated by the Leninist thesis that with the assistance of the working class in the advanced states, the backward nations can come over to socialism and after a few definite steps of development to communism, skipping the capitalist stage of development (See Soch. [Works], Vol 31, p. 219). Many peoples in the Caucasus and in Central Asia have come to socialism from feudalism and patriarchal relations; the Mongolian People's Republic has gone through a non-capitalist path of development. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is going along this path.

A little more than 40 years ago the Soviet Central Asian Republics were at the same level of economic development as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and a number of other Asian nations. Some 40 years is not a great space of time in history, and is less than the life-expectancy of one generation; but what striking changes have come about in the Soviet Republics! Now they are advanced industrial socialist republics with highly developed economies, culture and public health. The production of heavy industry has grown in the republics by more than 60 times.

Before the revolution there were no institutions of higher learning in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia; but at present a wide network of institutions of higher learning has been developed. For every 10,000 inhabitants of these republics there are on the average 88 student in institutions of higher learning; in France there are 40, 34 in Italy, and 31 in Western Germany. In other words, in the countries which are following the capitalist path, in their time were two or three centuries ahead of the Central Asian Republics and now have  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 times less students.

All of these facts are widely known. What path--capitalist or socialist--is progressive, which answers the interests of the people? Today this does not need discussing. It is evident from a comparison of one or another fact. The socialist path of development provides authentic independent development for the peoples, and decides all of the social problems in the interests of the workers and the entire population. The following is characteristic of a socialist society: the absence of exploitation of man by man, a socialist form of ownership of the means of production, the planning of the national economy, the absence of unemployment, racial and national discrimination, the broadest democratic rights for the people, and the systematic increase in the standard of living.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are commencing on the broad road of independent creativity, and there is no doubt that they will enrich the theory and practice of social transformation. Their path is not easy. Ahead are many fierce battles with imperialism. But there is no force which could stop the forward motion of history. The national-liberation revolutions are developing on a wider and broader scale, and in their fire burns the ignominious system of colonialism. The former colonies and semi-colonies which are on the way to national democracy and social progress will become flourishing states.

## AN IMPORTANT SIDE OF LIFE

### [Anti-Religion]

[Following is the translation of an article by I. Kryvelev, in Kommunist, No 8, Moscow, May 1961, pp. 65-72.]

The movement of our society toward communism is in itself a many-sided process. At its basis lies the ceaseless growth of the productive forces and the use of these forces for increasing the riches of society. The soil is gradually being created for the development of communist social relations in all spheres of life. All of this is to have the most essential influence on the people's way of life, on their forms of daily intercourse and conduct and on their cultural and moral views.

In this, great importance is given as to how these forms of social and private life of the workers develop, and in what way their daily life is extracted from the remnants of the past and turned into the new communist way of life. This question deserves detailed analysis. Here we shall limit ourselves to one aspect of the question, that is, to the celebration in the way of life for the Soviet people of important and commemorable events in public and private life, and the holidays and traditional customs and ceremonies connected with the holidays. This bears direct relation to the important areas of our ideological work such as the struggle against religious survivals.

Religion is incompatible with the ideology of a member in a communist society; there is no place for the remnants of religion in the communist way of life. However the elimination of religion is not a direct "single-line" process, but rather a complex dialectical-contradictory one. Religion has penetrated many aspects of the conscience and way of life for people. Therefore the survival of religion does not come down to only one belief in the truth of some dogma which comprise one of another religious teaching. Here as well there are emotional survivals which enter into the consideration and which are beyond the control of logical thought; here a particularly large role is played by an accustomation to certain forms of life which are connected to religion and religious cults. The different elements of the religious complex display varying degrees of resistance to the assault by atheism, and this is the condition for the variability in the whole process of overcoming religion.

A study of this process in our country has shown that, from all of the elements which comprise the religious complex, the ones that display the greatest vitality are those which have grown up most closely in the lives of the people and as a result of this are ingrained traditions of religious-cult activity. The groundlessness of religious mystical convictions which are expressed in the aggregate of dogmas and teachings, after the necessary elucidative work can become understood even by a believer; this should in one or another degree influence his conscience. Emotional susceptibility to religious remnants which is related to a striving for consolation and to the specific stupifying effects of prayer and particularly religious services which are specifically designed to effect the condition of a religious home, is significantly more difficult to undermine by logical and rational criticism or even by the most convincing criticism founded on the obvious facts of science and practice. As for ceremonies and other cult activities which have entered into the traditions and grown into the lives of the people, they, as the results of observations and research attest, are even more tenacious, and in a number of instances continue to exist even when the religious teachings connected with them do not find recognition.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, as have the other peoples of the world, for a long time have celebrated such events as the birth of a person, the beginning of his independent life, marriage and also death with a particular ceremony (holiday-festive for the former, and mourning for the latter one). Religion was responsible not only for the sanctification of these ceremonies, but also for holding them; so to say, responsible for their method and organization. All of the rites used in these instances, as a rule, had an emotional-satiating character. The holding of the cult ceremonies was usually accompanied by a family reception with the good wishes of all the invited; as is well known in Russian life even funerals are connected with regalement in the form of the funeral feast [pominki]. As a result every such ceremony is long remembered by its participants.

Far from all of the people who perform rites are imbued with religious feelings, and their participation is not always linked to a religious belief. Not only in our time but as well before the revolution the corresponding rites were carried out simply due to tradition, because it was thus accepted to celebrate the definite events in the life of a man. But all the same, the people who participated in these rites could not but reinforce their religiosity and undergo a definite ideological effect. All of these ceremonies and rites were weapons of the church people, and they comprised one of the essential elements in the system of influencing the conscience of people.

Along with the rites and ceremonies allied with the events in the life of an individual person, there were also in the lives of the people religious holidays of the so-called public cult which had taken root thousands of years ago. Almost every religion has its own calendar of holidays and other notable days which are commemorated not only by

special church ceremonies , but also by particular features of a specifically "holiday" way of life. One or another religious legend is connected with each of the holidays, and in a few instances there are complete mythological complexes. The Christmas holiday, for example, is explained by the Church with the aid of the evangelical myth on the miraculous birth of Jesus Christ; the Easter holiday is linked with the myth on the death and resurrection of this God-man; for an explanation of the Judaic Easter, they draw in the legend on the stay of the ancient Jews in the Egyptian captivity and their miraculous liberation from this captivity, etc. In the great majority of cases the actual origin of the religious holidays is completely not that which the church people make out; as for the examples given above it is enough to say that Christ never existed and that there never was an Egyptian enslavement of the Jews.

The holidays which we have pointed out have not only pre-Christian but also pre-Judaic origins ; they date from the history of the ancient eastern cults of dying and resurrecting gods and from the holidays of sacrificing to the spirits which were celebrated by the nomadic shepherding tribes during the period of the disintegration of the primitive communal order. Drawing from the various stages of historical development, the new religions accepted the ancient holidays which were part of the way of life and gave them a new mythological meaning. Thus, for example, the lamb which was brought as a sacrifice to the spirits of the desert was subsequently turned into the "Agnus" the sacrifice of which is found in the Gospel. The customary features for holding the holidays which were found in the course of all the lives of the tribes and peoples were also gradually subject to re-formulation in the spirit of the mythology of a given religion. As a result, for example the Christmas-time celebrations in the families of Russian believers include along with the Christian rites numerous remnants of the pre-Christian Slavic "yule-tide" [svyatik]. It is the same for almost all of the other religious holidays, and in particular for the so-called patron saint's day.

For Christianity, Judaism and other modern religions used here the ancient "heathen" heritage. The original idea of the holidays and rites over the passage of time was forgotten and in the minds of the believers it became linked with other ideas and beliefs which stemmed from the new conditions of their lives and which corresponded more closely to the mythology of the contemporary religion. The life content of the holidays was always more durable than the mythological idea which had been introduced into them. Most often now no one except the old people can even remember the idea behind a given holiday; they know only that this is a "saint's day," the Trinity or the Savior, and that on this day one is supposed to "to stroll" /i.e., have a look at the women/, get drunk, etc.

As a rule the life forms of these celebrations have been disfigured and harmed in all ways. However the main threat is found in that ideological effect which they have on people, hindering the process of freeing their conscience from religious poison.

In our Soviet society the way of life has undergone serious changes. Not only in the city but as well in the country, the daily life of the Soviet man is totally different from that of the worker or peasant in Tsarist Russia. The greatest change has come about in the conscience of people. It may be considered that the majority of the population has broken with religion. The mass exodus of the workers from religion cannot help but seriously effect their way of life. The old traditions connected to religion and cult activities are breaking and gradually being overcome. However, new life forms do not always take their place.

In many instances the people who have already broken with religion or in one way or another are completely unmoved by it, occupying a sort of "neutral" position; turn to religious rites and ceremonies; they christen their children, they marry in churches, carry out religious burial rites, celebrate Easter and Christmas, don't go to work on saint's days, etc. This is especially true for the people who still vacillate in their attitude toward religion and atheism. In all cases it is impossible to underestimate the retarding influence on the process of overcoming religious remnants which is found in the conduct of religious rites and ceremonies.

It is also necessary to understand the importance of religious ceremonies in strengthening the position of the church and the clergy. Every such ceremony under our conditions is in itself a sort of demonstration that religion still lives and holds some people under its influence. When, for example, a poorly indoctrinated Komsomol member marries in a church, it is very good material for the gossips that, it is said, the Komsomols can't live without the church. Moreover the wide coverage of these ceremonies permits the strengthening of the church's material means. However the main threat here all the same is ideological. We must have a clear picture of how the performing of religious rites constitutes a concession to a religious ideology which is inimical to communism.

Rites of various sorts are preserved and held in the life of people to varying degrees. The most vital up to now of the religious rites are those which celebrate birth, baptism in Christianity and circumcision in Judaism and Islam. Of somewhat less frequency are church burials and even less, church weddings. In many cases the religious observance of an event is not carried out in full, but is combined in a civil and religious form of celebration. For example, it is possible to dispense with a church wedding, but at the time of the marriage the young people kiss the ikon or the parents bless them with the ikon. It often happens that the deceased is buried in a civil rite, but nevertheless at the church they have ordered a requiem "just in case." In life it often happens that the new and the old are fanatically interlarded which makes itself forcibly felt on the rites and holidays. Thus, for example, among the Ul'chey (a small people in the Amur lowlands), one can see the following picture at a cemetery: at the grave they have erected a post with a red four-pointed star or

some other modern Soviet emblem, but also scattered there are the fragments of a sledge and skis, broken by the relatives on the grave so that the "soul" of the deceased in its future life might use them.

One of the essential reasons for the vitality of religious rites lies in the fact that we have still not been able to create and disseminate into the way of life sufficiently bright and artistic ceremonies which would displace the traditions and ceremonies which are inculcated with religious cult ideas. Often people in the Soviet Union turn to religious rites of baptism, marriage, etc. only because they do not know or do not have any other means for a festive celebration of the important events in their lives or in the lives of their loved ones. Often they participate in religious holidays only because they do not have other means for spending their "holiday" time, and do not know how to use their leisure time with benefit and worth, but at the same time with interest and appeal.

As we see, there is an important and complicated task: to promote actively the development and wide use in the masses of new forms of holiday life, both in the area of individual and family life of the Soviet man, and in public life. It is a question of such holidays and rites as will satisfy the needs of the people in the interesting and creative spending of holiday time, and yet be completely free from the smallest elements of religious cult ideas and which would have a high indoctrinating value.

The importance of this work does not come down to simply a fight against religion, although in itself this task is of enormous ideological importance. The working out and distribution of new, non-religious rites and holidays must play a large role in the further amelioration and decoration of the socialist life of the workers in the town and country. This will introduce more beauty and festiveness into our social and private lives, open new possibilities for the rational and captivating use of leisure, and will permit the satisfaction of emotional needs in people through bright spectacles, and in theatrically exciting creative ceremonies. Good artistic taste for holding ceremonies and for their internal format will guide the aesthetic indoctrination of the Soviet man.

Important events and dates in public life are celebrated here with holidays which have formed a tradition and become part of our way of life. The Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the May Day celebration, and the International Woman's Day of the 8 of March have long since become part of the way of life for Soviet people. With them are definite traditional activities, such as the participation in demonstrations and ceremonial meetings, the giving of gifts to women, etc. On these days in every populated area one feels a holiday atmosphere, people visit one another, stroll, rest—all so that the holidays of the Soviet revolutionary calendar have become truly an event of the people and have great and progressive ideological significance.

However, one must say that there are many important events in public life which still are not always and not everywhere sufficiently celebrated with creativity, brightness and impressiveness; in many instances these events are generally passed unnoticed. The jubilee of an enterprise, kolkhoz or town, the successful completion of the fiscal year at a kolkhoz, the fulfillment on time of a yearly plan by an enterprise, the awarding of a medal to an oblast, city, enterprise or kolkhoz, the jubilee birthday of a eminent figure, etc., such are the events which are far from always celebrated with sufficient creativity and interest.

People are experiencing the demand of instead of celebrating only these holidays in the society of their close friends and relatives, rather to celebrate in a wider circle of inhabitants of one's city or town, the workers of one's enterprise, etc. In these holidays one feels like being "among the people" with the masses, on the street and in public places. We still do not have enough non-religious public holidays, and this often permits the vitality of religious holidays in the life of the town as well as in the country, particularly the so-called saint's day holidays.

For celebrating the events in the individual life, fewer forms exist which can be followed and which can be developed and popularized further.

At one time in our life the "oktyabrin" was widely found. Although there did not exist a definitely established or more or less bright ceremonial of this holiday, all the same it to some degree at that time countered the church baptism or the Judaic-Muslim circumcision, and in a number of instances replaced them. However at present the event of the "oktyabrin" has in fact disappeared from life and even its name is little known to the young generation. As a rule, parents simply arrange a celebration for relatives and friends. One must notice the great progressive importance in the experience of Komsomol-youth weddings, although this experience requires still very serious further working out. Civil funerals for the deceased are often practiced. Usually with this there is a mourning meeting with the traditional meeting and speeches accompanied by dirges. However effective civil funerals are comparatively rarely conducted in the country where it has been harder up to now to provide a mourning ceremony.

In recent years various organizations in almost all of the Republics of the Soviet Union as well as individual citizens have devoted great initiative to working out and introducing new non-religious rites and ceremonies, both in public and individual life. The Komsomol organization has shown fruitful initiative in conducting youth-Komsomol weddings. The newspaper Izvestiya has widely raised the question of rites and has published in connection with this a number of interesting remarks by its readers; the great number of replies received by the editors shows how strongly the wide circles of workers are interested in this question. Many public organizations

particularly in the Baltic area have done great work on the practical dissemination into the lives of workers holidays for the Harvest, Singing, Spring, etc. In various cities of the RSFSR they tried celebrating Russian winter. The scientific-atheistic section of the Society on the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge of the RSFSR along with the House of Folk Art of the RSFSR held a broad meeting devoted to non-religious holidays and rites with a demonstration of a number of works of artistic folklore. The time has come when we have the pressing problem of generalizing this experience, its theoretical concepts and most importantly the development and expansion in every way possible of the scale of this work. We need the collective efforts of organizations and institutions both on the all-Union scale and on the local level. In this work which is just beginning now we must have the participation of the scientific institutions (the Institute of Philosophy, the Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Milhukho-Maklay, and the Institute of History), the Central Committee of the of the VLKSM\*, the Ministry of Culture of the USSR, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR, the Writers' Union, the Composers' Union, the Artists' Union, etc.

Of extremely important principle significance is the question of the relations of national life traditions and religious establishments. Over the many centuries of the history of the peoples of the Soviet Union forms of folk life have formed and developed with their own essential features which are rich, multi-colored and clear. In the great majority of cases these vital national traditions have combined with religious cult establishments, so that it is often difficult to tell where one leaves off and the other begins. There are such events which have a religious origin but in the course of their history they have grown so into the folk life that to a significant degree they have lost their cult tint. Characteristic of this is the New Year's tree [the yelka]. There is no doubt about its religious origin, but in contemporary life the observation of this event in no way is tied to religious survivals nor with any sort of religious cult.

One of the methods which is sometimes used by the preachers of the old in our life, is the masking of the purely cult character of individual rites and traditions. We have a most important task in disclosing the attempts of our opponents to hide religious rites and establishments under the protection of national traditions. Along with this we must see that frequently ideologically and politically harmful nationalistic ideas are hidden behind religious forms. With the same decisiveness that we are getting rid of the nationalistic content of some "traditional" holidays, we must also get rid of their religious form. There is no reason in attempting to use a decrepit reactionary form for a progressive socialist content. As for this it is impossible not to point out the mistake of the editors of the journal Nauka i religiya [Science and Religion] who printed an un-

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[\* VLKSM = The Young Communist League; the Komsomol.]

critical praise of the ancient heathen holiday "Ligo" which was held formerly in Latvia.

Using everything of value in the historical experience of the people, it is necessary to direct and stimulate the development of new and progressive forms of life which correspond to the high and noble norms of the socialist community and to the features of the moral makeup of Soviet man.

The "imagining" of new forms from nothing or artificial implantation which are foreign to the peoples cannot lead to success. Ivory tower creations of "new forms" will remain on paper. Non-religious holidays and rites will find acceptance in the way of life only if they proceed from what is to some degree familiar and customary to the people. And here national specifics of each custom and rite play a particularly important role. That which for the Estonian or Lithuanian kolkhoz workers is customary and acceptable may be confusing and "uncomfortable" for the boy or girl from a Tambov or Siberian village. But of course under all conditions there remains the need for a general ideological, ethical and aesthetic criterion which stems from the tasks of communist indoctrination of the Soviet people and in particular of the youth.

The elaboration of the theoretical bases of the question and study of the folk traditions already arisen at the present time should be carried out parallelly with work on the creation of a system of non-religious holidays and rites and on the elaboration of form and methods for conducting them. Along with the public Soviet holidays under which according to law the people do not go to work, there is still a number of days in our calendar which are work days and all the same observed by our people and by the community as holidays. Of first importance among them are such important dates as the birthday of V. I. Lenin, and International Women's Day. They celebrate also the Day of Victory, the Day of the Soviet Army and a number of other dates: Days for the Railroad Workers, Miners, Metal Workers, Tank crews, the Artillery, Aviation, etc. As for the celebration of the noted holidays we have already worked out well known traditions. However undoubtedly here much more can and must be done so that these days are celebrated even more festively and brightly so that their celebration touches more deeply the life of each citizen, his family and home life. As for the rest of the above-mentioned public holidays their celebration here is still rather poor and little worked out. Usually they hold a festive meeting, where the order for conducting them is not always sufficiently varied. It would be correct, leaning on the available experience, to work out a specific ceremonial for each holiday, studying the particular feature namely of that date with spectacles and celebration that are unique for each individual instance.

Much work still remains to be done for introducing into life the new public holidays which up to now have not had wide use. It is possible to name here such possible events which deserve creative

celebrations; the anniversaries of the organization of a Union or Autonomous Republic, the organization of a kolkhoz, the winning of an award or the conferring of a title, etc; a Harvest Festival, a Spring Festival, etc. In evolving the method for conducting these holidays it is especially necessary to try to avoid banalities and platitudes; only then will the ideas of the holiday approach the conscience of people and be strengthened in them.

The second group of events which demand festive celebrations is related to such stages in the individual life of Soviet man as birth, beginning school, entry into the Komsomol, the receiving of a passport, the finishing of school, the first money earned, drafting into the army, return from the army, entrance into a VUZ [institution of higher learning], the finishing of the VUZ, weddings, the silver wedding anniversary, the golden wedding anniversary, a birthday, the receiving of an award, pensioning, and finally some ceremony like a funeral.

The adoption of the new forms and ceremonies connected with the events and occasions mentioned above of course cannot be realized in a short period of time. It is obvious that for a primary working out of this it will be necessary to separate some of the most prominent ceremonies and rites which are particularly important for supplanting religious rites. Here one can refer to the birth of children, the receiving of a passport, marriage and funerals. In the future this experience can be successfully used in working out all of the other ceremonies and rites.

Formerly traditions were created primarily by "gravity." But the stage of history which we are living through is a turning point in this matter. Communist society is not being built spontaneously, but consciously according to scientifically worked out and directed plans and under the leadership of the Communist Party. The socialist traditions which are springing up here are formulated in accordance with the general tasks of building a communist society and with the tasks of indoctrinating the moral make-up of a man in a communist society. While the old traditions were created over hundreds and thousands of years, our socialist traditions will certainly not require such enormous historical periods for their formulation. We should not and cannot wait centuries. We have the complete opportunity in using our public organizations and state institutions and in applying all of the methods and means of ideological influence of creating new traditions and having them widely adopted.

The modern technical means for spreading culture are so powerful and effective that they enable one in the shortest period of time to make one or another element of spiritual culture the property of the widest masses. We know how quickly songs from films and radio and television works are spread among the people and particularly among the youth. In this the production of records is of the greatest importance. And what is there to stop one, having once worked out the corresponding ceremonies and rites, of printing them in films, in tele-

vision broadcasts, in hundreds of thousands of records and in tape recordings produced in mass amounts? It would be incorrect to create ceremonies and rites from nothing; one must use that which is to some degree created by life and, as should be, which is more or less familiar to the people.

One must give the people prepared material which they can use directly, but which would not hamper their own initiative. The latter should be manifested, first, in the national concretization of the general elements of the ceremony, and, second, in the adaptation of the forms for conducting it to the local conditions.

The high artistic level of the material for our ceremonies must be expressed particularly in its clarity, emotional infectiousness, and in its impressiveness. It is necessary that our rites and holidays be more interesting than the church forms, more beautiful than them; they must have greater scope for the imagination and they must be remembered better.

For preparing all of the material connected with this work, we must have the participation of the finest masters of our art. The theater and movie directors must aid in working out the ceremonies themselves and drawing up their scenarios. The poets will write the verses, and the words for the songs and the hymns. The composers will create the necessary music and the artists will do the designs and the costumes. Here it is a question of presentations calculated for the widest distribution and works which must root themselves and grow up in the socialist Soviet way of life.

The overcoming of religious prejudices and traditions is one of the most important conditions for building a true communist way of life which is free from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois filth, and which corresponds to the spiritual and moral makeup of a man in a communist society. The communist way of life can have nothing in common either with the asceticism of religion and its dejected and hypocritical bigotry, nor with its vulgar and tasteless ceremonies and holidays which stupefy man. Our holidays must express all of the fineness of the moral, intellectual and aesthetic makeup of the man who will live in a communist society.

## MATERIALISM AND HUMANISM

[Following is the translation of an article by V. Kelle,  
in Kommunist, No 8, Moscow, May 1961, pp. 98-110.]

We live in a remarkable and stormy era of the formation of a communist social structure and the downfall of capitalism, in an era of the fall of the colonial system of imperialism, and in an era of successes which stun the imagination and unseen progress in science and technology. All of these processes are accompanied with a sharp ideological struggle of opposed social systems--capitalism and socialism. Socialism is the dawn of a new era of human history, and the first phase in the development of society which has been freed from exploitation. Socialism has abolished the basis of all of the social antagonisms such as private ownership of the means of production, it has created truly human and comradely relations in production and in other spheres of social life, it has united the people through the morality of collectivism, and has planted the seeds of friendship between peoples.

Naturally socialism has brought with itself the rule of a new ideology. This ideology of dialectical and historical materialism plays an inestimable role in the struggle for a better future for man for he is freed from all of those ideological illusions which the system of exploitation and suppression thrust upon him for thousands of years. For this is an ideology which is scientific in content and revolutionary in importance, and an ideology which has absorbed into itself all of the finest achievements of human thought. In contradistinction to the right socialists who have debased socialist ideas and who have negated their connection with the definite ideology, the communists have proceeded and proceed now from the view that socialism in theory and practice is inseparable from dialectical and historical materialism and from Marxist-Leninist philosophy which has already been widely disseminated and has entered into all aspects of the socialist way of life.

Fighting against socialism and its ideology, the defenders of capitalism constantly repeat the ridiculous idea that materialism is incompatible with the principles of humanism. Historically the ideas of humanism have been linked both with materialistic philosophy and with some of the currents of idealism. But the truly humanistic philosophy of our time is namely dialectical and historical materialism which is inseparably connected with the fight for economic, social and

spiritual liberation of man, and sets real socialist humanism in opposition to the bourgeois phrases on humanism.

## 1. Materialism and the Individual

The materialist ideology, said F. Engels, means simply the understanding of nature, such as it is, without any extraneous additions. To understand the world, including man himself as he is in reality, is the great task of a scientific ideology which has arisen as the goal of a long and difficult development of science and philosophy and which has assumed in itself the results of persistent and protracted searches for the truth. It is an ideology which ruthlessly eliminates all possible illusions and which carries on an intense ideological struggle against the remaining reactionary views.

In full agreement with the data of science, the materialists maintain that man is not a divine creation but rather the apex of nature's development. Millions of years of evolution have found their perfect embodiment in the handsome forms of the human body and in the characteristics of human sensitivity. Work completes the formation of the physical aspect of man, and lights in him the spark of reason. Work and conscience have enabled man to rise above the rest of nature and to break out of the state of wildness and to create modern civilization. The greatness and worthiness of man consists in his concerns, in his labor and in the fact that he has created a society with its material and spiritual culture. "Man--this has a proud ring to it," said one of the heroes of the great proletarian humanist-writer Maxim Gor'kiy. How fine sound these words of Gor'kiy now when Soviet man through the strength of his genius, as the creator of the new socialist world, has opened the road into the cosmos!

The exploiting class society has created for the worker the most inhuman conditions of existence. For centuries the ruling classes have ridiculed the working people who are the creators of all the material and spiritual goods; they have plundered them and mocked their strivings for liberty and happiness. The greatness of socialism and the greatest good that it brings people consists in the fact that it frees the workers from exploitation and suppression and makes labor free and joyful; it creates the conditions for the higher development of man and the human personality.

Really is it possible to praise capitalism in this regard, where the ideology of capitalism trumpets everywhere about the "liberty of the individual?" Capitalism maims man in making him the slave of things, it corrupts the personality of the worker in turning him into an appendage of the machines, and impedes the spiritual development of the workers in giving the bourgeoisie a monopoly on knowledge.

In order to justify the structure of capitalism and to conceal the real status of the individual under capitalism, the bourgeois ideologists use the "experimental" means of philosophical idealism and religion. From the viewpoint of the philosophizing priests and

the "priestifying" philosophers, the individual is an "end in itself," and has "absolute value," and so on to the degree that it brings with it a "holy element" and serves as the link between man and God. They consider that materialism "depersonalizes man" since it negates God and the eternal soul. But in reality it is not materialism but idealism and religion which contradict the humanistic view of man. The recognition of divine reason lowers the reason of man, and the recognition of a supreme will deprecates the significance of creative labor, the recognition of a higher justice weakens man before the manifestations of social injustice, for, in following the dogmas of religion, man should rely upon prayer and not place trust in himself. Religion strengthens the suppression and weakness of the individual before the spontaneous forces of nature and society which are personified in God; be humble, kill your pride, and quell your worried, eternally searching reason, for you know that you, man, are only a worm of the earth. Really are such views compatible with the worth of a creator-man who has conquered nature and has placed his life on rational principles? The lowering of man is the fee for the transparent hope for personal immortality which religion entertains. The overcoming of the religious conscience and the ruthless criticism of religion is one of the conditions for freeing man and for the creation of a real humanism. In the name of truth and the happiness of man, materialism repudiates religion and God.

Incidentally, one should not forget the historical fact that even bourgeois humanism arose as a protest against the oppression of the Church and the religious ideology. The Church of the Middle Ages enforced upon the people a somber philosophy which was permeated with an inimicability to the natural needs of man. "The saving of the soul" meant the mortification of the flesh. Heaven was considered pure, and the earth sullied. The suffering before death was alleviated by deprecating the earthly life and by a belief in the immortality of the soul. The head of man, as if by an iron band, was bound by various prejudices. People were stifled in the artificial atmosphere of the religious ideology. The philosophy, art and literature of the Renaissance turned to man, and revolted against the asceticism of the Middle Ages and its renunciation of every earthly thing. And here the window was thrown open. A fresh wind sprang up. The great minds of the Renaissance took a new look at the world. In nature they saw nature, and in man--man; they said that it was fine that man must enjoy life in this earthly, bright and sunny world. They exalted man and his motives, feelings, thoughts and concerns; they proclaimed the value of man. The humanism of the Renaissance was historically progressive. It was directed against the bigoted religious asceticism and the self-deprecations of man.

But the bourgeoisie had need of religion and therefore its ideologists in principle did not break the link between humanism and religion. In our times the defenders of "Christian civilization" often propagandize the religious ideas as the basis of humanism. But no matter how religion is modernized or how it is adapted to the new conditions

and psychology of modern man, it will always remain a pseudo-humanistic ideology.

In seeing the value of man in that he is "of spirit," idealistic philosophy and religion separate the individual from the concrete historical conditions. And in this separation of the individual from the concrete conditions of life and his conscience from matter, idealism views man as an individual. For example, the deacon of the Philosophical Faculty of the Catholic University in Toulouse, A. Etcheverry, in his malicious, anti-Marxist book Le conflit actuel des humanismes [The Conflict of Humanism Today] writes that "Marxism negates the essence of human nature which has absolute value and is independent from historical and geographical conditions! It does not recognize for the individual essential values which should be above social interests. It cannot see in the individual the bearer of holy rights the respect of which is necessary under any conditions." From this follows the conclusion: "Man is not taken into account. They sacrifice the individual-- such is the fee for materialism." (A. Etcheverry, Le conflit actuel des humanismes, Paris, 1955, p. 176, 177.)

Historical materialism indeed negates the abstract understanding of the individual. But it does this in the name of humanism because, in reality, the individual outside of history does not exist in life. Find and show us an individual "independent from historical and geographical conditions!" This is not a live real individual, but an emaciated abstract individual, and the old fiction of the idealist philosophers which has no place either in social science or in scientific philosophy. Marxism does not depersonify the personality of man, but rather discovers its true essence. Man is a social being and in his essence he is "the aggregate of all social relations" (K. Marx). Man cannot be seen outside the concrete social relations of his era, outside his social background, or outside the tie with the nature of his activity. The individual does not soar above society, but is a particle of it. The society is not the product of the individual, but the individual is the product of the society.

Of course man is man, no matter to which class he might belong, for social classes are the large groups of people. But if the worker labors in a capitalist factory, then the specifics of the relations between people consists in that one is a worker and the other a capitalist, that one creates surplus value while the other appropriates it; one is the exploited while the other is the exploiter. To separate the individual from the social relations means to turn it into an abstraction. When the workers rise to the fight against the capitalists, they see their class enemy not in the individual per se, but in the owners, exploiters and capitalists. The theory of the abstract, extra-historical individual in a society which is split into hostile classes and in a society of social injustice idealizes this society and obscures its heart-breaking contradictions. It is very characteristic that the bourgeois theoreticians with even greater consistency affirm the value of the individual personality "in itself" the more the worth itself of the individual is turned by capitalism into exchange value.

Marxism exposes this bourgeois hypocrisy, this Pharisaically touching contemplation of the individual "in general." In the world there is every sort of individual--Fascists, racists, colonizers, munitions manufacturers, gangsters, "ultras," etc. One still finds living the Hitlerian generals--"individuals" who gave the orders for the execution and hanging of innocent people and who burned cities and towns. And that such "individuals" are again in power in the Bonn government is fraught with dangerous consequences. Humanism necessitates the struggle against such individuals and those social groups whose interests they express. The greatest respect and regard is due a man when he devotes his strengths to the struggle for the happiness of peoples, when he sees his calling in the service of people, and when through his activity he promotes social progress. The principles of socialist humanism are found not in an abstract approach to the individual, but rather based on a materialist ideology and one which is concretely historical and supports the Party.

Marxist materialism does not depersonify the individual, but exalts the truly human in man, raises the worth of man as the fighter for the new and progressive, and argues against all that suppresses or abases man, hampers his capabilities or hinders his activities. Humanism in the materialist ideology and in socialism as a social system consists once and for all in the view that the earthly existence of man is for him the highest good, and that they exalt man and his creative powers--labor, reason, and cognition--which raise him above his surrounding world and which have made his personality. Dialectical materialism values highly creative labor, gives enormous significance to a knowledge of the truth, and places its faith in the limitless power of the human mind. The value of a human personality is not to be found in the presence of an immortal soul, but in the ability for creative and constructive activities. Man realizes his spiritual riches not in self-analysis or self-contemplation but in the riches connected with activity. It is not the departure from the world but a knowledge of it that will give strength to human reason.

The peoples of the socialist camp due to the selfless labor and rational planned organization of production, have attained rates of industrial growth which are unapproachable for capitalism. Unable to hinder this progress, our opponents coarsely invoke humanism, and states that materialism "turns man into an instrument of production," and that the communists see in man not an individual and individuality, but only a "producer."

In reality it is not socialism but capitalism which turns man into a means of production and into an instrument for the creation of surplus value. It is namely the liquidation of exploitation under socialism that humanizes production, for its goal here becomes the satisfaction of the workers' needs. Under socialism, production, culture, science and politics--all serve the interests of the workers and all serve man in the creation of conditions for the development and flourishing of the human personality.

Man is the highest value for man--this great humanistic principles was proclaimed by Marx. But is it possible that this principle can be realized in a society where there is wage slavery, luxury for some and poverty for others, colonial suppression and racial discrimination, etc.? So that all people might be led in their lives by the principles of humanism, one must remove from a society all that subordinates man, insults his worth, all that makes human life worthless; that is, one must remove exploitation of man by man, the rule of some people over other, militarism, aggressive wars, etc.

And what does religion do? One of the tenets of the Roman Church up to today affirms that "humanity should passively bear its burden, for it is impossible to eliminate social injustice from the world," and that the establishment of a just society on this earth is hindered by the eternal sinfulness of man. There is not a grain of humanism in such views. It is true, they can say, that religion teaches love for one's loved ones and obliges one to be charitable. But this demand is hypocritical in a system where conditions of exploitation exist; it gives the people nothing. Thus Marx wrote in the middle of the last century that this demand "for the last 1800 years has been repeated ad nauseum without the least success" (K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch., Works, Vol 4, p. 11). The sweet comforting phrases remain phrases, and the Papal teachings of humility and meekness abet that world to hold the workers under the yoke and to preserve its riches and privileges. The bourgeoisie willingly speaks about humanism, but in no way wishes in the name of love for their close ones to refuse his profits. The bourgeoisie uses the idea of humanism to prettify their rule and not to be deprived of it.

Socialist humanism represents a quantitatively different form of humanism in comparison with the bourgeois form, because it is fighting for the establishment of a society where every member benefits from all of the rights of man, and because it overcomes the abstract notion of the individual and links the realization of humanistic ideals with the revolutionary movement of the working mass.

## 2. Determinism and Freedom

Idealists deny the humanistic character of materialism, explaining that it is not a question neither of humanism, philanthropy, nor of any noble intentions or fancies if the materialists deny the "freedom of the will" and recognize only the material interest. In the report on the national goals for the USA, drawn up by the President's commission, it was said, "Americans above all should in all of the areas of their lives show the untruth of the purely egoistic position--the materialistic ethic." By the way, the Americans find this rather difficult to prove because the egoistic calculation is inseparable from capitalism with its furious race for profits and relations of shameless cash payments.

Pre-Marxist materialism, in struggling with religious and idealistic ethics, actually deduced a morality from personal interest. But materialistic philosophy at that time had nothing in common with narrow-minded, vulgar utilitarianism. Over the centuries the enemies of materialism have tried to present it as a philosophy of egoism, acquisition and gluttony, a philosophy as though inimical to lofty ideals, spiritual efforts and morals. The slanderous character of these fictions, apart from everything else, is shown in that these philippics against materialism have been written and are being written by the ideologues of the classes whose *raison d'être* is found in robbery, in coercion and in unrestrained enrichment. On the other side, materialist philosophy has always been linked with the interests of the advanced classes of its era, it has protected the freedom of science against religious fanaticism, it has established progressive social ideals for its time and the rights of man, and it has struggled for the social and intellectual progress of humanity. Of course the old materialism suffered from many essential shortcomings, but it was of great service for humanity.

Materialism in the form that Marx and Engels gave to it, that is, dialectical and historical materialism, is the herald of a new world which repudiates all forms of oppression and establishes truly human and humanistic morality in the relations between people. V. I. Lenin has emphasized that the denial by materialism of the idealistic freedom of the will and the recognition of determinism does not abolish either the conscience or the reason of man, nor does it reduce his responsibility for his errors. Communist morality leans not on the fear of man before God, and not on abstract, non-historical or over-empirical principles, but rather on the responsibility of man before society and the collective.

Not content with this, the idealists explain the negation of freedom as a characteristic trait of materialist philosophy. This accusation has become a commonplace in bourgeois literature. It is felt that materialism is incompatible with liberty in that it posits man in dependence on the material conditions of his existence, and recognizes the presence of objective laws of development for society and the reasonable causality of human behavior. "Materialistic naturalism," wrote one American scholar, "to a larger degree is in the benefit of communism than for our free way of life...If man is the product of natural laws, then individual liberty is only an illusion, and the philosophy of communism provides a better solution to its problems."

The assertion that dialectical materialism negates liberty is the result of ignorance and a confusion of dialectical materialism with metaphysics which actually could not solve the problems of liberty, or it is a conscious falsification. Marxist philosophy has long since solved this problem. As a living being, man cannot be free from the effect of the laws of nature and society. His independence from the objective laws can be only imagined, but this does not mean that the existence of objective laws excludes the liberty of man. On the contrary,

it is namely the regular patterns of development in nature and society which make this possible.

Freedom consists in the rule of man over nature and social relations; man can realize this rule only by the means of the recognition and practical use of the objective laws of nature and society. From here it follows that liberty is the product of historical development, and that individual liberty is inadmissably outside of society, isolated from society or outside the links of man with society. "Only in the collective does the individual find the means which give him the opportunity of general development for his advances and consequently, only in the collective is personal liberty possible (K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch., Vol 3, p. 75).

Marxist philosophy views the historical development of society both as a regularly patterned natural historical process and as the result of the activity of people. In the latter reside the objective laws of social development, and at the same time people themselves create their own history. The metaphysically inclined bourgeois theoreticians cannot reconcile these dialectical opposites in their views. For them the recognition of the objective laws excludes the creative role of the masses and the individual in history.

According to the materialist understanding of history, the objective laws determine the general direction of the historical process. A knowledge of these laws gives people the opportunity to place before themselves actual goals. But the concrete course of history and the realization of the posited goals with the presence of the necessary material conditions as a whole depends on the practical energy, the initiative and the organizational capacities of people. But no one would say that the presence of physical laws hinders the initiative of the physicist or the engineer in using these laws or deprives his activity of a creative character. On the contrary, only by relying on these laws can the scientists and engineers create. This is all the more valid for social laws which in distinction from the laws of nature can be realized only through the activity of people.

Wars are produced by the economic contradictions of imperialism. Two world wars caused by the imperialists in the 20th century are sufficient proof of this. The absolute majority of people are interested in eliminating the threat of a new world war which would bring the greatest destruction and misery. For this it is necessary to paralyze the aggressive forces of imperialism. A general law of the modern era is also the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the origination of a new social form. The effect of this law which is realized in the revolutionary struggle of the masses, has led to the creation of a world system of socialism. The countries of socialism and other peace-loving states, and the movement of the people for peace--all these forces are capable of averting the unleashing of a new world war. But for this the fighters for peace must show maximum care, steadfastness, energy and creative initiative.

It is obvious that the recognition of the regular development

in accordance with certain laws in history does not deprive the activity of people of a creative character, but rather gives the opportunity of explaining it, foreseeing its results and increasing its activity. But it is not accidental that namely the communists are the vanguard and the most active force in the struggle for peace and for the full and general disarmament, that is, for goals which are truly noble and humanistic. As was emphasized in the Declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties, communists see their historical mission not only in ridding society of exploitation and poverty, but also in completely excluding war from life. Really what can be more human than the concern for the fight for peace and socialism against the dark forces of war and reaction which threaten the peoples with innumerable misfortunes!

Thus if the bourgeois ideology links liberty with the defense of capitalism and bourgeois democracy in practice and with idealism and religion in theory, then communist ideology links liberty and its realization with science and human practice and with the struggle against reaction and against the old , and against the mystics and idealism; that is, against all of the forces which are hostile to the liberty of man. Such a solution to the problem of liberty is truly humanistic.

### 3. Dialectical Materialism and Real Humanism

The fullest and most general humanistic character of the materialist ideology is seen in its unbreakable link with the fight for communism. Dialectical and historical materialism comprise the philosophical base for the theory and practice of scientific communism. It is impossible "to separate social communist teachings from its fundamental base," "the thesis of world revolution finds its highest justification namely in dialectical materialism," assert our enemies (F. Dominedo, Kommunizm i demokratiya /Communism and Democracy/). But communists do not conceal this. While still at the early stages of his activity, K. Marx emphasized the revolutionary character of the materialist philosophy. He pointed out that if, according to materialist teaching, man is the child of circumstances, then it follows that the circumstances must be made humane. But the circumstances of people's lives are made humane by a revolutionary transformation of society on the principles of communism.

The significance of dialectical and historical materialism for the basis of communism consists in the application of the methods worked out by it to provide for a scientific approach to the analysis of the historical process, its laws, to the solution of social problems which confront a society, and to the fight for the liberty of man and society.

Living in a society, man cannot be free from society. Society is not free if it is antagonistic, if it is based on the exploitation of man by man, and if the laws of its development act as spontaneous

forces. An individual man cannot be free in such a society. The liberation of a society is the condition for the liberation of the individual, and this liberation is accomplished under socialism. Liberty is attained by the establishment of public ownership of the means of production, which enables the regulation in the general interest of the relations between people as well as the relation of society to nature. The viability of a free society presupposes the presence of institutes which concentrate public demands and which organize the activity of people in accordance with the recognized necessities. These functions at the stage of socialism are fulfilled by the communist party and by the socialist state and by the mass organizations of workers.

The party and the state are the organizing force and the tool in the hands of the people which expresses its interests. The state plans and organizes production for the entire society (this is a rather complicated task), organizes the distribution of public products, and protects the security of the people and the victories of communism from the thrusts of the imperialists. Under socialism the state and the people are united.

The bourgeois ideologists slander a socialist state when they write that it suppresses the freedom of the individual and creates a "system of state slavery;" they accuse it of totalitarianism, etc. All of this is a conscious falsification and a distorted reflection in the bourgeois conscience of the contradictions between bourgeois and socialist democracies. The latter is untenable for the bourgeoisie but namely because it represents a higher form of democracy and a real democracy in the interests of the majority. That in individual periods of its history the Soviet state was forced to undergo some limitations to democracy, was caused by difficulties in the advancement under the conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement. But these times have already been passed. And as for the distortions of socialist democracy such as the destruction of legality, manifestations of bureaucratism, etc., then it is namely the communists and the Soviet people who subject these distortions to ruthless criticism and who take the measures for their elimination.

Life itself convincingly shows that communism is the authentic real humanism, a humanism not in word but in deed because it embodies the sort of social structure which provides for the real happiness of people, and for the general development of the individual. "Communism is the most humane and most philanthropic ideology," said N. S. Khrushchev.

The idea of communism was born in a society of private property, wage slavery, economic anarchy and competition. It expressed a protest against the inhumane conditions of capitalism and was the result of the ruthless criticism of its foundations and its negation. Marx and Engels turned communism into a strict scientific theory, having proved that a communist society is the necessary product of the development of capitalism and the end of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. They wrote that namely in the struggle for communism could humanistic ideals be realized.

Socialism in our country was built under the leadership of the Communist Party in accordance with the laws of Marxist-Leninist science. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist state played an enormous role in changing the life of the peoples. Tens and hundreds of millions of people who stood at various stages of history have been raised up to a new life. That which was still recently foreseen has become a reality. Of course the path to communism is not strewn with roses. In order to break the fetters of the old world and to create a new society the Soviet people had to overcome a mass of difficulties and hinderances, they had to show selflessness, virility and the greatest organizational capacity and discipline. Socialism was established in our country during an embittered fight against counter-revolution and imperialist reaction. But its victories are even more prized.

The liquidation of exploitation of man by man and the establishment of an attitude of cooperation, the liquidation of national differences and the establishment of friendship and fraternal mutual aid between people, the overcoming of antagonisms between the individual and society, the unconditional growth of the material well-being and the cultural level of the workers, the creation of the conditions for free creative labor, etc.--all of these are the humanistic victories of socialism. And a free education, free medical care for the entire population, paid vacations, and care for women and mothers--really is this not humane!

It is not philanthropic sops nor abstract decorative phrases about humanism, but the real concern for the creation of truly human conditions in the life of the workers--conditions under which the people straighten their backs and become the masters of the land--that is a real humanism, a humanism in deed, and the humanism which a socialist society brings with it.

The critics of the imperialist camp exaggerate our errors, take joy in our shortcomings, do not wish to see anything new, are silent about or under-estimate our successes, and distort all of the principles in our way of life. The economic organizational and cultural-indocinating role of the socialist state is seen by them as a suppression of the freedom of the individual, and the development of mass heroism in labor is seen as the turning of man into a "production unit", while the establishment of collectivism was seen as the absorption of the individual by the collective. But in all of these falsifications there is one common trend: the bourgeois ideologists try to prove that materialism and socialism contradict the interests of the individual and therefore are incompatible with humanism.

In the modern era the advantages of one or another social system are determined in the final analysis by which of them can provide the best material conditions for the life of the people, create the most suitable social, economic and spiritual prerequisites for the general development of the individual and for the improvement and manifestation of his capabilities. History has irrevocably answered this question in favor of socialism and communism. In practice socialism has shown

its advantages over capitalism in all of the most important areas of human endeavor and in all spheres of human relations.

In contradistinction to bourgeois society, socialism relies upon the unity of individual and social, and it creates a harmony between the individual and society which is unattainable in class-based formulations. The establishment of deep organic ties between the individual and the collective and the affirmation of relations of comradely cooperation in no way are tantamount to the "absorption" of the individual by the collective or the elimination of individuality. Marxist socialism has never treated collectivism or social equality as the smoothing out of individual differences or as the subordination of the individual personality. In itself the principle of communism "from each according to his ability" presupposes inequality of abilities and a difference in individuality. The fullest social equality not only does not eliminate these differences, but on the contrary is the condition for a rich development of the individuality, and the condition for a harmonic development and flourishing of the free human personality. The elimination of the antagonism between the individual and society creates the soil for the development of new powerful moral stimuli for serving the individual in society, and for its activity in the interests of general well-being. Socialism not only recognizes man in his individuality in the highest meaning of that word, but also strives to make life for all people brighter, richer and more varied.

Communism is replacing capitalism for this is the new, rational structured society which provides humanity with peace and to all people liberty and the joy of creative work, which is freed from the concern for a piece of bread, and to each individual it provides general development for his abilities and inclinations.

Imperialist propaganda, unable to hide the attractiveness of the communist ideal, explains it as an unattainable dream. But the historical experience of socialist society refutes such assertions. The Soviet Union, having crossed a colossal historical frontier, has established as its practical task the construction of the higher phase of communism. The communist tomorrow is to be reached in today's life of our country, and in today's work of the Soviet people who are carrying out the grandiose program outlined by the Party for the construction of communism. Communist society embodies the brightest and most elevated humanistic ideals of humanity including those which the best bourgeois revolutionaries advanced in their time.

Communism is an actual society of liberty, equality and fraternity, and the fine future for mankind. This future is not a Utopian dream, nor the repetition of boring and false religious ideas on paradise, or the idea which lulls people to sleep. Communism is the association of workers. Communism strives for the creation of general abundance not for satiety but for the provision of the material prerequisites for the general spiritual and physical development of the individual. In liquidating the suffering of millions who are raised under poverty, hunger, wars, exploitation and social and national oppression, communism provides for all the conditions of life which are

worthy of a free man. In abolishing social inequality, communism does not level all people but rather unites them for joint action according to the abilities of each. In eliminating social antagonisms, communism directs the forces which before were dissipated in a mutual fight among people to the transformation and subjugation of nature in the interests of man and society. In overcoming distorted forms of conscience, communism carefully preserves all of the true spiritual values which have been created by mankind and makes of them common property for the people. Communism removes every possibility for using the achievements of science and the human mind for the detriment of people, or for the end of destroying and abolishing; it frees people of science from a terrifying moral conflict. Being a society constructed on the laws of science and reason, communism does not suppress either individuality or the emotional side of man's life, but on the contrary, develops them, freeing the individual from the degrading struggle for existence, and human emotion from the filth stuck to it.

#### 4. Bourgeois Ideology and Capitalist Reality

The official ideology of the modern capitalist world asserts the link of bourgeois ideas of freedom, democracy and humanism with religion and philosophical idealism. In the report "Ideology and Foreign Policy" published by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the US Senate, it was stated that "constitutional or liberal democracy...has its beginning in classical humanism as well as in the Judaic-Christian religious heritage..." It is well known how some of the leaders of the USA and Federal German Republic love in their political speeches to appeal to religion and God. When they need to oppose capitalism to socialism then they see the contrast in that the "free world" considers man as the image and likeness of God, but in the socialist nations where God is not recognized, man is seen as the "tool of the state."

In the report which we have already mentioned on the national goals for the USA it was written: "The most basic aims which are envisaged for Americans, concern the spiritual force of our people. The right of each man to seek God and the sources of truth by his own means is infinitely valued. We must guarantee this above all else, and we must bring this about, for our society is a society based on spiritual principles."

It is characteristic that the statesmen of the capitalist world are pondering over what goals they can oppose to the bright ideals of communism. In discovering the spiritual poverty of the bourgeoisie, they clutch at the old ideological rattles of religio-idealistic philosophy and the morality of individualism. Of course they are not permitted to say that the goal of capitalism is business which has never considered man, but makes man into a means--a means of production, a means of gain and a means of exploitation. This is the reason that they make so much noise about the individual.

Bourgeois politicians and ideologists assert that the conception of the individual as an absolute end in itself found its embodiment in bourgeois democracy which has as its main goal the protection of the autonomy and liberty of the individual. "Our faith in the free society is based on the respect for the human individual," asserted Macmillan at a meeting of Conservatives. "The personality of man and his unique value is at the center of democratic doctrine," assert the authors of the report "Ideology and Foreign Policy." But all of this goes to depict capitalism as a system which is in accordance with the ideals of humanity, humanism, a system which not only proclaims but also protects the freedom of the individual and therefore answers the needs of "human nature." Bourgeois civilization is depicted as the sole protector of the "eternal" human values which the communists disregard.

In words bourgeois ideology gives the individual a number of inalienable rights, but in fact in a capitalist society man is recognized as an individual only when he has property. Bourgeois individualism cannot be identified with humanism just as it is impossible to identify a work of art with money used to purchase it. Individualism is the direct result of a society of private property and competition, and the heritage of the antagonisms between the individual and society. Here the individual is alone in its struggle for life, abandoned as the existentialists say, for society does not serve as its support. What is one unemployed worker or the threat of unemployment worth! The workers knows that the owner can at any moment throw him out on the street and leave him without a means for existence. And it does not alleviate the situation when in this he is recognized as an "individual."

Humanism, liberty and democracy...these words can be pronounced in any way. However in fact the imperialists through these words cover their bestial habits and their aggressive misanthropic nature.

How many times have these "champions of humanism" the imperialists covered the world with blood! Tens of millions of people were annihilated and mutilated in two world wars which were caused by the bourgeoisie. The American imperialists used the inhuman atomic weapons in dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, although it has been proven that this was not a military necessity for Japan was already on the verge of surrender. It is well known that the physicists who created the bomb in the USA in the majority were against its use when it became known that aside from the USA no one else had such a bomb. The order for the atomic bombing was given by President Truman, an orthodox Christian and of course a champion of bourgeois liberty and democracy! In truth the sophists of bourgeois propaganda can even depict an atomic bombing as an act of humanism. But in the eyes of all the simple people, an atomic bombing is the most inhuman crime, and he who commits this act will never be able to wash off its taint. Neither "Christian love" for people, nor "a belief in the worth of the human individual" can atone for this crime. And even now the imperialists continue to burden peoples with militarism, and really is this compatible with humanism?

And how many hypocritical phrases about "liberty" are dissipated by the stranglers of liberty and progress! One knows that under the pretext of the false slogans of "protecting liberty" the American imperialists have supported and are now supporting reactionary, dictatorial regimes in Taiwan, in Southern Vietnam and South Korea, and in a number of the Latin American nations; in the name of "progress" they are organizing provocations against the people who have arisen to the struggle for national liberation. Among such defenders of "spiritual values" of Western civilization, Konrad Adenauer certainly does not take last place. Under his "Christian leadership," Western Germany is being turned into a focus for a new war in Europe. Unreformed Hitlerian generals have rapidly advanced along the ladder of promotion. "Freedom" is used for encouraging the scarcely masked Fascist groups and for prohibiting the communist party. Under the flag of "the defense of civilization" nuclear armed rockets are being installed and new aggressive plans are being invented which will pose the greatest danger for mankind.

The idea of liberty in a bourgeois society is far from the truth of the advertisement of capitalism; the advertisement is effected, but not always effective. The aim of the bourgeois democracy is not the preservation of the liberty of the individual--this is only its ideological mask--but rather the preservation of capitalist orders and capitalist ownership.

How is it that the stranglers of the colonial peoples can call themselves adherents of "democracy?" Really don't the bombastic speeches about "non-interference" into the internal affairs of other nations serve to cover up the arbitrary rule of the colonizers in the Congo, Laos, the Union of South Africa and other nations? The example of the Congo shows what cruel and tragic form the agony of colonialism assumes. More than a billion people were held by the imperialists in colonial slavery even up to the middle of the 20th century. There was no measure of suffering which the enslaved peoples of colonial suppression have not known. And how many orderly phrases were spoken to decorate this dark page in the history of capitalism! Really, have the workers of the colonies been recognized as individuals? Vietnam and Korea, Laos and the Congo, Guatemala and Cuba have felt on their own backs the nature of imperialist "democracy" in the iron attire of cannons, bayonets and atomic weapons.

All of the hypocritical words which may be pronounced by the defendants of the "free world" in the glory of bourgeois democracy, liberty and humanism cannot make one forget such an act of unheard of arbitrariness and cruelty as the removal and murder by the agents of imperialism of the legal head of the Congo government, the national hero Patrice Lumumba.

When one compares the words and the deeds of imperialism, then the phrases on freedom, democratic ideals and humanism have a false and hypocritical ring to them. Even the ideologists of capitalism are forced to admit that "the practice of democratic states, of course, does not

attain these ideals and principles." (See the report of the USA Senate, "Ideology and Foreign Policy.") But even this has been too lightly put. Capitalist reality is harsher. The "practice" of one of the democratic bourgeois states was recently exposed to all of the people of the world. The most powerful state of the capitalist world, the United States, organized an invasion of its hirelings on Cuba, a nation of 7 million people who recently expelled a hated dictator, and bravely demanded its right to self-determination and liberty. The attempt to strangle the revolutionary Cuba ended in a complete defeat; the people of Cuba have maintained their independence. But the imperialists of the USA have not quit, they are organizing new provocation, which are hidden under the false banner of the defense of "liberty." The slogan of liberty is used for suppressing freedom at any time, cynically and brazenly, and according to the rules of bourgeois hypocrisy. By this fact the peoples of the world can be convinced still again that for the imperialists, liberty means only the liberty of their own reactionary actions.

In its time, capitalism developed powerful productive forces and created colossal wealth, but it did not free the masses from hunger, poverty, injustice and ignorance, exploitation and social inequality, aggressive wars and racial hatred, economic crises and social antagonisms. How is it possible to reconcile humanism and liberty with all of these phenomena of capitalist activity?

The greatness of the materialistic Marxist-Leninist philosophy and its truly humanistic basis are expressed in that it permits the workers to escape from the prison of bourgeois ideology, to understand the limitations and transitional character of capitalist relations, and to raise their spiritual development to such a height that they disclose new perspectives for general human progress under the conditions of communism.

## ABOUT THOSE WHO RENOUNCE SOCIALISM

Following is the translation of a book review by Kh. Nishanov in Kommunist, No 8, Moscow, May 1961, pp. 121-124. The book reviewed is Krizis reformistiskikh illyuziy "demokraticheskogo sotsializma" (The Crisis in the Reformist Illusions of "Democratic Socialism"), by D. G. Bol'shov, V. V. Midtsev, and L. A. Yakovleva. (Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher Pedagogical Schools and the Academy of Social Sciences, 1961, 461 pp.)

In 1950, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party, Morgan Phillips, speaking before an international conference of right socialists in Copenhagen, with amazing frankness said: "The British socialists categorically reject Marxism and the doctrine of class warfare in all of its forms and manifestations...No Marxism! No materialism and class warfare!"

The leaders of the French German, Austrian and other socialist parties who were sitting in the conference hall probably were a bit taken aback on hearing the words of the brave Liberal abolisher of Marxism and class warfare. They should not have been surprised because they disagreed with him. No, previously they used Marxist phraseology only to fool and disorient the workers. They were surprised because it was somewhat clumsy to throw away the threadbare toga from the Marxist phrases which, for good or bad, had concealed from the eyes of the workers the true nature of these people who had entered the camp of the enemies of the proletariat and the enemies of Marxism.

But the toga was once and for all thrown aside. The time came (it was at the end of the '50s), and the leaders of quasi-Marxist socialism wrote into their new Party programmes what they had not dared to say out loud and frankly at the beginning of the decade: no Marxism, no materialism, no class struggle. If one is to believe the leaders of the socialist parties, they refused Marxism supposedly in the name of a more modern and effective theory of social development, in the name of "democratic socialism."

In reviewing the book written by the scientific workers at the Chair of Philosophy in the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the CPSU, D. Bol'shov, V. Midtsev and L. Yakovleva, one finds that the factual material is given for disclosing this clumsy chicanery. In all of its lines, modern reformism has conclusively and frankly capitulated before bourgeois ideology, and in word and deed has

turned into its hidden variation. This refortification of ideas in reformism reflects the mortal fears of monopoly capital and its hand-maidens before the triumphal march of socialism and before Marxist-Leninist theory which has been realized throughout great parts of the world and which with indomitable energy attracts to itself new tens of millions of people who desire peace and friendship between people and the abolition of capitalist states which have hindered the progress of human society.

The rightist socialists explain their denial of Marxism by the struggle to preserve "ideological neutrality." Thus, one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, V. Eichler, writes: "In a world where there is such a variety of ideologies, we cannot give allegiance to one of them. The Social Democratic Party in this context cannot be called a party of a definite ideology." Truly, isn't this a significant admission! The Social Democratic Party is being portrayed not only by Eichler, but as well in the program documents of the Socialist International by such a conglomeration of people with every sort of view on the world and social life. Here, it seems, idealists and materialists, believers and atheists, defenders of the bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the readers of Marx and the adherents of the bourgeois economist Keynes can peacefully co-exist and propagandize their ideas. However it is not necessary to give serious significance to these assertions. In the ostentatious glorification of "ideological neutrality" there is a very large part of untruth, for the right socialists are not inclined to show forbearance to all teachings. They wage a shallow and wicked struggle against Marxism-Leninism, and do not want to permit in their ranks any people who speak out against the reformist ideology and who gravitate toward scientific communism.

But at the same time the theoreticians of right socialism take under their protection various currents of idealistic philosophy, metaphysics and fideism. They have a particular weakness for positivism and neo-Kantianism. Why? The authors of the book answer this question correctly. "In modern bourgeois philosophy," they write, "it is difficult to find other such currents . . . like positivism and neo-Kantianism, which are based on the anti-scientific positions of idealism, and that have preserved a "scientific" appearance, and thus they have skillfully masked their fawning before bourgeois call for "revolutionary" phrases, the chatter about "positive knowledge," ethics which stand above classes, morals, common ideals, etc." (p. 87).

The people who give themselves airs about finding a more "modern" ideology than Marxism, in fact are subsisting on the endless repetition of the remains of reactionary bourgeois philosophy. How many times do they "refute" the thesis on the primacy of social existence and the secondary importance of social conscience or identify them as anti-scientific. How many times in taking up the hopeless struggle against historical materialism, do they "abolish" the objective laws of social development, and deny . . . historical progress and the possibility of

scientific prediction. And it is under these conditions that Marxist prediction, based on the knowledge of the objective laws of historical development found its shining affirmation in the victory of socialism in the many nations of Europe and Asia.

V. I. Lenin wrote that the negation of the laws are necessary for idealism to juggle the "laws" of religion. This truth can be substantiated when one becomes acquainted with the writings of the ideologists of modern reformism. From idealism they easily found a path into the swamp of Papalism. Thus, F. Kreuzer, one of the recognized authorities of the Austrian Social Democrats writes that the unity of the socialists with the Catholic world demands an understanding of the "historical expediency of the highest order", which implies the idea of God. The authors give other facts on the confluence and identity of the rightist socialist philosophy with Papal rule. To show this they used the article of the "socialist" E. Hemacher which was published in the official organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, Die Zukunft. On the level of the teachings of a village priest this theoretician asserts: "Absolute justice in human society is impossible. It must be trans- mitted to the other world. The Christian God leads and directs the life of every man." Such a "modern ideology" is the one which has been presented by the right socialists as a replacement for the "out-dated" Marxism and Marxist philosophy.

The convincing exposure of the links in ideas between reformism and bourgeois philosophy and sociology which is given in the book, suffers from one basic problem; with complete unjustification the authors have passed over the general philosophical and theoretical cognitive views of the reformist ideologists, and have not repulsed their malicious attacks on the dialectical method and dialectical logic. It is understood that in not having disclosed thoroughly the general philosophical idealism of the right socialist ideologists, the authors have somewhat diminished the level of criticism levelled against the sociological conceptions of the defenders of "democratic" socialism. One omission is also that sophism and eclecticism which occupy such a large part of the arsenal of ideas in reformism were not made the subject of special criticism by the authors of the work.

A significant part of the book is taken up with a discussion of the question on the reformists' evaluation of modern capitalism. This is also understandable for the right socialist ideologists see their main task in, having misinterpreted in a fundamental way the new manifestations in the development of modern economics in capitalism, making it seem as if a system of wage slavery "is transformed" into socialism without class struggle and revolution. In these "transformational" efforts, the right socialist ideologists go so far from the mark that they betray authentic socialism for capitalism and capitalism for socialism. Thus one of them, Lucien Lora, the author of the book "The Actual Problems of Socialism" is without shame and confusion ready to include in the ranks of the socialist nations the United States where the ruling circles are now the standardbearers of the most rapacious

and aggressive imperialism. Lora tries to show that in the USA "there is more socialism than in the countries of the Eastern bloc."

In "State and Revolution" Lenin wrote that "the most wide-spread error is the bourgeois-reformist assertion that monopolistic or state monopolistic capitalism is no longer capitalism, but can already be called "state socialism" and so forth." (Soch., Vol 25, p. 414). The authors of the book being reviewed show the place in the ideology of right socialism given to the attempts to conceal the fundamental differences between state-monopoly capitalism and socialism, and they subject these attempts to reasoned criticism. In the book it is convincingly shown that the growth in the specific weight of state-monopolistic property in no way means the development of socialist production relations in the heart of capitalism, for this property in its essence continues to be capitalist ownership and grows at the expense of increased exploitation of the workers.

The authors refute the assertions of L. Lora and J. Moca and many other reformist theoreticians that the ownership of joint-stock companies is doing away with individual ownership, and therefore has ceased to be capitalistic. In joint-stock companies, as the authors note correctly, ownership is invested through the form of stocks and other notes of value to the bearer. These stocks and notes freely circulate between holders. "It is namely this ability of the stocks to change hands" write the authors, "and to change owners that creates the appearance that capital in a joint-stock company and its ownership has been deprived of personal control or depersonified.... But in fact the stocks are seemingly deprived of individual control and there is no depersonalization of property." (p. 192-193).

This conclusion is well backed up by the facts which show what fabulous wealth is concentrated in the hands of an insignificant number of millionaires and multi-millionaires. No talk about the "depersonalization" of property can conceal, for example, that the enormous wealth of the Du Pont family belongs to it and to no other. It is well known that 1% of the population of the USA controls 60% of all the wealth in that country.

The destruction of the myth on the "socialist" character of state-monopolistic ownership is connected with disclosing the fictions of the bourgeois and right socialist ideologists on the disappearance of classes and the class struggle within the levels of bourgeois society. It occurs to us that in refuting this "discovery" of "democratic socialism" the authors could have used to better avail the statistics on strikes and also other data which back up and support the fact of the continual growth of contradictions between labor and capital. In our view, the authors have made insufficient use of data on the deepening of the general crisis in capitalism, on the exacerbation of contradictions within the imperialist camp, and on the growth of the contradictions between the imperialist camp and the under-developed nations. It would have been better also to show the effect of the achievements in the socialist countries on the deepening of the economic

and political contradictions in modern imperialism.

In this book one can read with interest the pages devoted to a criticism of the reformist interpretations on state interference into a bourgeois economy. It is well known that the right socialists attempt to eradicate the Marxist teaching on the anarchy of production under capitalism and try to ascribe to capitalism the possibility of planned and proportional development. The authors correctly note that the invasion of the state into the economic life of a state has been caused by the growth of contradictions in capitalism. But a bourgeois state is in no condition to overcome these contradictions and to bring in planning for production which is based on private ownership. This is attested to by the crises and depressions in production which more and more often shake the economy of capitalist nations. This is also attested to by the exacerbation of contradictions between the various capitalist nations in spite of every possible attempt at "integration."

In the book on the basis of new materials the authors refute the old and the most recent notions of reformism on the supra-class nature of the bourgeois state. These assertions appear particularly humorous and ridiculous in our day when, according to the characterization given in the Declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, the forces of the monopolies have combined with the forces of the bourgeois state to form a single mechanism for saving the capitalist system. Knowing perfectly well that the imperialist states express the will and interests of the powerful monopolies, the ideologists of reformism prefer to tell the outright lie that the dispersal (diffusion) of power exists in such societies, and they characterize the state as a simple "self-expression of groups of human beings who are attempting to do this jointly and in a just and orderly fashion." (H. Morrison. The Peaceful Revolution. p. 111). It is worth comparing this pseudo-scientific definition "with the just and orderly" actions of the American government in order to evaluate "the science" of Mr. Morrison and his accomplices.

The concluding portion of the book is devoted to a criticism of reformist notions on socialism. As is well known, reformist "socialism" does not require a class struggle, a revolution or the winning of power by the working class and its allies. This is understandable for this "socialism" itself is not based on the generalization of the means of production, or on the abolition of social inequality and exploitation of man by man. "Collective ownership of the means of production" writes A. Philip in the book For a Humanistic Socialism, "is not the necessary condition for a socialist society." This is not the personal opinion of Philip: socialism without the necessity of public ownership is the latest word of "democratic socialism" which has been incorporated into the new party programs of the reformists. In openly refusing Marxism, it is then impossible not also to refuse true socialism.

The most recent "socialism" of the modern reformists is little different from the somewhat tamed and civilized capitalism which has been enriched with all sorts of abstract "moral values." After this

how could one be surprised that right socialism with the passing of every day loses influence in the working movement? Many proletarians are leaving the ranks of the reformist parties where the rightist leaders have broken with the working class and with socialism. As the book shows there is a diminishing in the numerical support of the Western European parties in the reformist international and a gradual decrease in the number of votes that they get in elections. For example, the membership of the French Social Democratic Party has decreased from 354,878 members in 1946 to 81,292 members in 1959; the German Social Democratic Party from 701,448 to 623,817 members; and the number of members in the Norwegian Workers Party in the same period has fallen approximately by 14%, etc. (p. 25). No less significant are the facts brought out by the book on the change in the social composition of the social-reformist parties. According to the data of the German Right Social Democrat, V. Taimier, the ranks of the SDPG were almost totally made up of workers 30-40 years ago, while in 1950, the workers comprised only 45%, bureaucrats and civil servants, 22%; peasants, 2%; rentiers, 12%; housewives, 7%; and other 12%. In the French Socialist Party by 1955 the workers comprised less than one-quarter of its membership, and they were much less than the bureaucrats (pp. 18-19).

The book correctly states that the workers in capitalist countries, disappointed in reformism, all the more decisively are turning to the revolutionary fight and are standing under the banner of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. However the authors of the book should emphasize more strongly that the social reformist parties all the same are continuing to remain an influential force.

The book stresses the necessity of cooperation between communists and socialists in the struggle for peace and the welfare of the workers, but it does this cursorily. Also the authors have not given sufficient differentiation in the approach to the socialist parties, and have not dwelt in the proper form on the distinctions within their positions, and they have not disclosed the demarcation of forces within the reformist parties themselves. Therefore they do not give enough attention to the activation of the leftist elements among the Labourites, and the French, Italian, Japanese and other socialists. It is generally known that many of the leftist Labourites came out against the attempts of Gaiteskill and his henchmen to remove the demand for the nationalization of the means of production from the Labour Party's platform. The leftist socialists in France who have entered the Autonomous Socialist Party, with all the contradictions in their views, do not share the extremely reactionary position of Guy Mollet and other rightist socialists who have assumed the role of the defenders of the French monopolies. If one takes the socialist parties of Italy and Japan then one observes the striving among a significant part of the socialists to fight along with the communists for the realization of a good number of essential tasks.

One finds in this book a Marxist evaluation of the principles of "democratic socialism" which is given from a position of "partijnost" [embodying Party spirit]. This is seen in the thorough analysis and

disclosure of the anti-scientific and reactionary nature of the right socialist ideas and theories. The sure and calm tone of the criticism levelled at our opponents in ideas, the refutation of their conclusions through facts and figures and the logicity of the argumentation give this book special value.